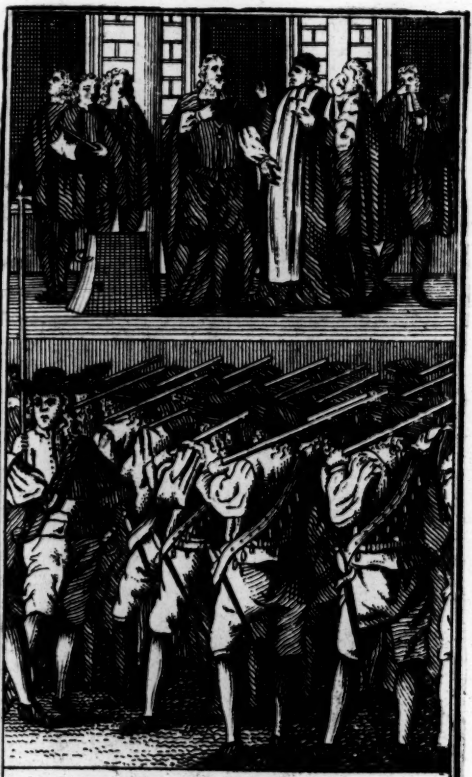
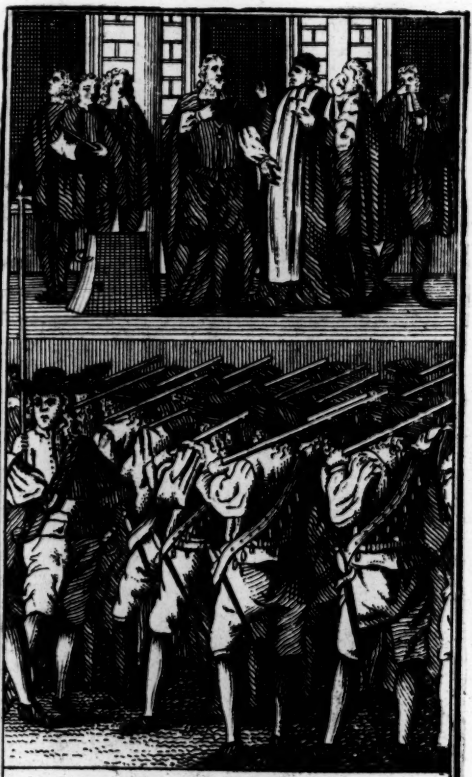


THE
Martyrdom
of King Charles ye First



THE
Martyrdom
of King Charles ye First

Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ.

THE POURTRAICTURE OF HIS SACRED MAIESTIE, IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SUFFERINGS.

ROM. 8.

More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

Printed *Anno Dom.* 1648.

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September 25, 1953

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

I. *Upon his Majesties calling this last Parliament.*

His last Parliament I called, not more by others advice, and necessity of my affairs, then by my owne choyce and inclination, who have alwayes thought the right way of Parliaments most safe for my Crowne, and best pleasing to my People: And although I was not forgetfull of those sparks, which some mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for some years, I hoped to have extinguished) yet resolving with my self to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redresse all publick grievances in Church and State; I hoped by my (freedome and their moderation) to prevent all misunderstandings and miscarriages in this: In which as I feared affairs would meet with some passion and prejudice in other men, so I resolved they should find least of them in my selfe; not doubting, but by the weight of Reason I should counterpoize the over-ballancing of any factions.

I was indeed sorry to heare with what partiality and popular heat Elections were carried in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and discretion of other Gentlemen, would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament, (guiding some mens

wel-meaning zeal by such rules of moderation as are best both to preserve & restore the health of all States and Kingdoms:) No man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament, then my self; who knowing best the largeness of my own Heart toward my Peoples good and just contentment, pleased my self most in that good and firme understanding which would hence grow between me and my People.

All Jealousies being laid aside, my owne and my Childrens interests gave me many obligations to seek and preserve the love and welfare of my Subjects. The only temporall blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honour and safety, next Gods protection; I cared not to lessen my self in some things of my wonted Prerogative; since I knew I could be no loser, if I might gain but a recompence in my Subjects affections.

I intended not only to oblige my friends, but mine enemies also; exceeding even the desires of those that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The *odium* and offences which some mens rigour or remisnes in Church & State had contracted upon my Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Lawes and regulations for the future, as might not only rectifie what was amisse in practise, but supply what was defective in the constitution: No man having a greater zeale to see Religion setled, and preserved in Truth, Unity and Order, then my self, whom it most concernes both in piety and policy: as knowing that, no flames of civill dissentions are more dangerous then those which make religious Pretensions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reforme, what I should by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amisse; and to grant whatever my Reason and Conscience told me was fit to be desired; I wish I had kept my

selfe

ſelfe within thoſe bounds, and not ſuffered my own Judgement to have been over-born in ſome things more by others importunities, then their Arguments; my confidence had leſſe betrayed my ſelfe, and my Kingdomes to thoſe Advantages, which ſome men ſought for, who wanted nothing but power, and occaſion to do miſchief.

But our ſins being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Juſtice, from reaping that glory in our Calamities, which we rob'd him of in our Proſperity.

For thou (O Lord) haſt made us ſee, that Reſolutions of future Reforming do not alwayes ſatisfie thy Juſtice, nor prevent thy vengeance for former miſcarriages.

Our ſinnes have overlaid our hopes; thou haſt taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpoſe to amend.

When thou haſt vindicated thy glory by thy Judgements, and haſt ſhewed us how unſafe it is to offend thee, upon Preſumptions afterwards to pleaſe thee; then I truſt thy mercies will reſtore thoſe bleſſings to us, which we have ſo much abuſed, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our ſins, thou giveſt us cauſe to repent of thoſe remedies we too late apply.

Yet I do not repent of my calling this laſt Parliament, becauſe O Lord I did it with an upright intention to thy glory, and my Peoples good.

The miſeries which have enſued upon me and my Kingdomes, are the juſt effects of thy diſpleaſure upon us; and may be yet through thy mercy, preparatives of us to future bleſſings, and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou haſt deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant me and my people the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chaſtiſements; that thy rod as well as thy ſtaffe may comfort us: Then ſhall we dare to account them the ſtrokes not of an enemy but a Father: when thou giveſt us thoſe humble affections, that meaſure of pati-

ence in repentance which becomes thy children; I shall have no cause to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought me and my People unfeignedly to repent of the sins we have committed.

Thy grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, then our Peace could be with our sins, O thou soveraigne goodnesse and wisedome, who over-rulest all our Counsels, over-rule also all our hearts, that the worse things we suffer by thy Justice, the better we may be by thy mercy.

As our sinnes have turned our Antidotes into poison, so let thy Grace turne our Poison into Antidotes.

As the sinnes of our Peace disposed us to this unhappy Warre, so let this warre prepare us for thy blessed Peace.

That although I have but troublesome Kingdomes here, yet I may attaine to that Kingdome of Peace in my Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Christ hath purchased, and thou wilt give to thy servant, (though a sinner) for my Saviours sake. Amen.

II. *Vpon the Earle of* Straffords *death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whose great abilites might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to employ him, in the greatest affairs of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like-enough to betray him to great errors, and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphear, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular *odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit, and integrity.

Though

Though I cannot in my judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the neceſſities of times, and the temper of that people, more then led by his owne diſpoſition to any height and rigor of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any ſuch criminouſneſſe in him, as willingly to expoſe his life to the ſtroke of Juſtice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs then in the buſineſſe of that unfortunate Earl: when betwixt my own unſatisfiedneſſe in Conſcience, and a neceſſity (as ſome told me) of ſatisfying the importunities of ſome people I was perſwaded by thoſe, that I think wiſhed me well, to chuſe rather what was ſafe, then what ſeemed juſt; preferring the outward peace of my kingdoms with men, before that inward exactneſſe of conſcience before God,

And indeed I am ſo far from excuſing or denying that complyance on my part (for plenary conſent it was not) to his deſtruction, whom in my judgement I thought not, by any clear Law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of conſcience with greater regret: which as a ſigne of my repentance, I have often with ſorrow confeſſed both to God and men, as an act of ſo ſinful frailty, that it diſcovered more a fear of man, than of God, whoſe name and place on earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of ſo high injuſtice, as no publique convenience can expiate or compenſate.

I ſee it a bad exchange to wound a mans own conſcience, thereby to ſalv State ſores; to calm the ſtorms of popular diſcontents, by ſtirring up a tempeſt in a mans own boſome.

Nor hath Gods jnſtice failed in the event and ſad conſequences, to ſhew the world the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man periſh (though unjuſtly) then the people be diſpleaſed, or deſtroyed.* For,

In all likelihood I could never have ſuffered, with

my people greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford's* innocency, at least by denying to signe that destructive BILL, according to that justice, which my conſtience ſuggeſted to me, then I have done ſince I gratified ſome mens unthankfull importunities with ſo cruell a favour. And I have obſerved that thoſe, who counſelled me to ſigne that Bill, have been ſo far from receiving the rewards of ſuch ingratiatings with the people, that no men have been haraſſed and cruſhed more then they: He only hath been leaſt vexed by them, who counſelled me, not to conſent againſt the vote of my own conſcience; I hope God hath forgiven me and them, the full raſhneſſe of that buſineſſe.

To which being in my ſoule ſo fully conſcious, thoſe judgements God hath pleaſed to ſend upon me, are ſo much the more welcome; as a means (I hope) which his mercy hath ſanctified ſo to me, as to make me repent of that unjuſt Act, (for ſo it was to me) and for the future to teach me, that the beſt rule of policy is to preferre the doing of juſtice, before all enjoyments, and the peace of my conſcience before the preſervation of my kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified my reſolutions againſt all thoſe violent importunities, which ſince have ſought to gaine a like conſent from me, to Acts, wherein my conſcience is unſatisfied, then the ſharp touches I have had for what paſſed me, in my Lord of *Strafford's* buſineſſe.

Not that I reſolved to have employed him in my affairs, againſt the advice of my Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his death, of whoſe guiltleſneſſe I was better aſſured, then any man living could be.

Nor were the crimes objected againſt him ſo clear, as after a long and fair hearing to give convincing ſatisfaction to the major part of both Houſes; eſpeci-

ally

ally that of the Lords, of whom ſcarce a third part were preſent, when the Bill paſſed that Houſe: And for the Houſe of Commons, many Gentlemen, diſpoſed enough to diminiſh my Lord of *Strafford's* greatneſſe and power, yet unſatisfied of his guilt in Law, durſt not condemne him to die; who for their integrity in their Votes, were by Poſting their Names, expoſed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fury; which grew then ſo exorbitant in their clamours *for juſtice*, (that is, to have both my ſelf and the two Houſes Vote, and do as they would have us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concur with the condemning party, then ſatisfied that of right they ought ſo to do.

And that after Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation, ſufficiently tels the world, that ſome remorſe touched even his moſt implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would be very loath ſhould be repeated to themſelves.

The tenderneſſe and regret I find in my ſoul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knows) in ſhedding one mans blood unjuſtly, (though under the colour and formalities of juſtice, and pretences of avoiding publike miſchiefs) which may (I hope) be ſome evidence before God and man, to all poſterity, and that I am far from bearing juſtly the vaſt load and guilt of all that bloud which hath been ſhed in this unhappy War; which ſome men will needs charge on *me*, to eaſe their own ſouls, who am, and ever ſhall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjuſtly, then to loſe my own.

But thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive me that act of ſinfull compliance, which hath greater agravations upon me then any man. Since I had not the leaſt temptation of envy, or malice againſt him, and by my place

should, at least so far, have been a preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to his destruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my transgression, and my sin is ever before me.

Deliver me from bloud guiltinesse O God, thou God of my salvation, & my tongue shall sing of thy righteousnes.

Against thee have I sinned, and done this evill in thy sight, for thou saweſt the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Yet cast me not away from thy presence, purge me with the bloud of my Redeemer, and I shall be clean; wash me with that pretious effusion, and I shall be whiter then snow.

Teach me to learn righteousnesse by thy judgements, and to see my frailty in thy justice: while I was perswaded by shedding one mans bloud to prevent after-troubles, thou hast for that among other sinnes, brought upon me, and upon my kingdoms, great, long, and heavie troubles.

Make me to prefer justice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to please them by displeasing thee: O never suffer me for any reason of State, to go against my reason of conscience, which is highly to sinne against thee, the God of reason, and judge of our consciences.

What ever, O Lord, thou seest fit to deprive me of, yet restore unto me the joy of thy salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit; which subjects my will to none, but thy light of reason, justice, and religion, which shines in my soul, for thou desirest truth in the inward parts, and integrity in the outward expressions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Saviours bloud which speaks better things; O make me, and my people, to hear the voice and joy and gladnesse, that the bones which thou hast broken, may rejoyce in thy salvation.

III. *Upon*

III. *Upon His Majesties going to the House of Commons.*

MY going to the House of Commons to demand Justice upon the 5 Members, was an act, which my enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealousies and fears; yea, and many of my friends resented it as a motion rising rather from Passion then Reason, and not guided with such discretion, as the touchinesse of those times required.

But these men knew not the just motives and pregnant grounds with which I thought my self so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidence as I could have produced against those I charged, save only a free and legal Trial, which was all I desired.

Nor had I any temptation of displeasure or revenge against those mens persons, further then I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawful correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made to embroyl my Kingdomes: of all which I missed but little to have produced writings under some mens own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it so, yet I wanted not such probabilities as were sufficient to raise jealousies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the publike peace; which to preserve by calling in Question half a dozen men, in a fair and legal way (which God knows was all my design) could have amounted to no worse effect, had it succeeded, then either to do me and my Kingdom right, in case they had been found guilty; or else to have cleared their innocency, and removed my suspicions; which, as they were not raised out of any malice, so neither were they in Reason to be smothered.

What

What flames of diſcontent this ſpark (though I ſought by all ſpeedy and poſſible means to quench it) ſoon kindled, all the world is witneſſe: The aſperſion which ſome men caſt upon that action, as if I had deſigned by force to aſſault the Houſe of Commons, and invade their priviledge, is ſo falſe, that as God beſt knows, I had no ſuch intent; ſo none that attended me, could juſtly gather from any thing I then ſaid or did, the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thoughts.

That I went attended with ſome Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the majeſty and ſafety of a King ſo to be attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times; ſo were my followers at that time ſhort of my ordinary guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more feared at my coming, then I was un-aſſured of not having ſome affronts caſt upon me, if I had none with me to preſerve a reverence to me; For many people had (at that time) learned to think thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince abundantly vented againſt me both by words and deeds.

The ſumme of that buſineſſe was this:

Thoſe men, and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater Protectors of their Laws and Liberties, then my ſelf, and ſo worthier of their protection. I leave them to God and their own Conſciences, who, if guilty of evil machinations, no preſent impunity or popular vindications of them will be a ſubterfuge ſufficient to reſcue them from thoſe exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obſtructions of Juſtice among men, we muſt religiouſly appeale, as being an argument to us Chriſtians of that after un-avoidable judgment, which ſhall rejudge what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had ſeen fit, thoſe future commotions, which I foreſaw would in

in all likelihood follow some mens activity (if not restrained) and so now hath done to the undoing of many thousands, the more is the pity.

But to over-awe the freedom of the Houses, or to weaken their just Authority by any violent impressions upon them, was not at all my design: I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on my side, as should not have needed so rough assistance; and I was resolved rather to bear the repulse with patience, then to use such hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art my witnesse in heaven, and in my heart: If I have purposed any violence or oppression against the Innocent; or if there were any such wickednesse in my thoughts,

Then let the enemy persecute my soule, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou that seest not as man seeth, but lookest beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart and trying the reines, and bringing to light the hidden things of darknesse, shew thy self.

Let not my afflictions be esteemed (as with wise and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my sin, in that matter: more their Impunity, among good men, is any sure token of their innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amisse, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save thy servant from the privy conspiracies, and open violence of bloody and unreasonable men, according to the uprightnesse of my heart, and the innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cause, and maintain my right, O thou that sittest in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy servant may ever rejoyce in thy salvation.

IV. *Upon*

IV. *Upon the insolency of the Tumults.*

I Never thought any thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all these mischiefs which have followed, then those tumults in *London* and *Westminster*, soon after the convening of this Parliament, which were not like a storme at sea, (which yet wants not its terror,) but like an earth-quake, shaking the very foundations of all; then which nothing in the world hath more of horrour.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the sea; so tis no lesse that he restraines the madnesse of the People. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when he suffers the confluences and clamour of the vulgar to passe all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of insolence, that they spared not to invade the Houses, menacing, reproaching, shaking, yea and assaulting some Members of both Houses, as they fancied or disliked them: Nor did they forbeare most rude and unseemly deportments, both in contemptuous words and actions to my selfe and my Coure.

Nor was this a shott fit or two of shaking, as an ague; but a quotidian feaver, alwayes increasing to higher inflammations, impatient of any mitigation, restraint or remission.

First, they must be a guard against those fears, which some men feared themselves and others with all, when indeed nothing was more to be feared and lesse to be used by wise men, then those tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude People, who are taught first to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at last to overawe the Parliament.

All

All obſtructions in Parliament, (that is, all freedome of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reaſon and candour) muſt be taken away with theſe Tumults: By theſe muſt the Houſes be purged, (as they pleaſed to count them) caſt out; By theſe the obſtinacy of men reſolved to diſcharge their conſciences muſt be ſubdued, by theſe all factious, ſeditious and ſchiſmaticall propoſals againſt Government Eccleſiaſticall or Civil, muſt be backed and abetted till they prevailed.

Generally, whoever had moſt mind to bring forth confuſion and ruine upon Church and State, uſed the midwifery of thoſe Tumults: whoſe riot and impatience was ſuch, that they would not ſtay the ripening and ſeaſon of Counſels, or faire Production of Acts, in the order, gravity and deliberateneſſe, befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, ſuch as their inviters and incouragers moſt fancied.

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable were their outrages, that no ſober man could be without an infinite ſhame and ſorrow to ſee them ſo tolerated, and connived at by ſome, countenanced, incouraged and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſired for the publick good, then obtain it by ſuch unlawful and irreligious means? But mens paſſions & Gods directions ſeldome agree; violent deſignes and motions muſt have ſuitable engines, ſuch as too much attend their own ends, ſeldome confine themſelves to Gods meanes. Force muſt crowd in what reaſon will not lead.

Who were the chiefe Demagogues and Patrons of Tumults, to ſend for them, to flatter and imbolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, ſome men yet living are too conſcious to pretend ignorance; God in his due time will let theſe

ſee,

ſee, that thoſe were no fit means to be uſed for attaining his ends.

But as it is no ſtrange thing for the Sea to rage, when ſtrong windes blow upon it; ſo neither for multitudes to become inſolent, when they have men of ſome reputation for parts and piety to ſet them on.

That which made their rudeneſſe moſt formidable, was that many Complaints being made, and Meſſages ſent by my ſelf and ſome of both Houſes; yet no order for redreſſe could be obtained with any vigour and efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far-ſpread diſeaſe, and predominant miſchief.

Such was ſome mens ſtupidity, that they feared no inconvenience; Others petulancy, that they joyed to ſee their betters ſhamefully outraged and abuſed, while they knew their only ſecurity conſiſted in vulgar flattery; So they inſenſible were they of mine, or the two Houſes common Safety and Honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examine, cenſure and puniſh the known Bouteſeus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boaſted of the influence they had, and uſed to convoke thoſe Tumults as their advantages ſerved.

Yea, ſome (who ſhould have been wiſer Statesmen) owned them as friends, commending their courage, zeale and induſtry, which to ſober men, could ſeem no better then that of the Devil, who *goes about ſeeking whom he may* deceive and *devoure*.

I confeſſe when I found ſuch a deafneſſe, that no Declaration from the Biſhops, who were firſt foully inſolenced and aſſaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour; nor yet from my ſelf, could take place for the due repreſſion of theſe Tumults, and ſecuring not only our freedome in Parliament, but our very Perſons in the ſtreets; I thought my ſelfe not bound by my preſence, to provoke them to higher boldneſſe and contempts; I hoped

ped by my withdrawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous fury, and others regaining ſome degrees of modeſty and ſober ſenſe.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Puſillanimity in any man for popular terrors to deſert his publike ſtation. But I think it a hardineſſe, beyond true valour, for a wiſe man to ſet himſelf againſt the breaking in of a Sea; which to reſiſt, at preſent, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it ſpace to ſpend its fury, and gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly a gallant man had rather fight to great diſadvantages for number and place in the field in an orderly way, then ſcuffle with an undiſciplined rabble.

Some ſuſpected and affirmed that I meditated a Warre, (when I went from *Whitehall* only to redeeme my Perſon, and conſcience from violence (God knows I did not then think of a Warre. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by ſo many former, and ſome after Acts, have ſo much weakened my ſelf, if I had purpoſed to engage in a War, which to decline by all means, I denyed my ſelf in ſo many particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame me, or any other, for a withdrawing our ſelves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and diſcontent might not flie ſo high, as to worry and tear thoſe in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their pawes? God, who is my ſole judge, is my witneſſe in heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from my houſe at *Whitehall*, if I could have had but any reaſonable fair Quarter; I was reſolved to bear much, and did ſo, but I did not think my ſelf bound to proſtitute the Majeſty of my place and perſon, the ſafety of my wife and children, to thoſe, who are prone to inſult moſt, when they have objects and opportunity moſt

capable

capable of their rudeneſſe and petulancie.

But this buſineſſe of the Tumults (whereof ſome have given already an account to God, others yet living know themſelves deſperately guilty) Time and the guilt of many hath ſo ſmothered up and buried, that I think it beſt to leave it as it is; only I believe the juſt Avenger of all diſorders, will in time make thoſe men, and that City, ſee their ſinne in the glaſſe of their puniſhmrnt. 'Tis more then an even lay, that they may one day ſee themſelves puniſhed by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its firſt Election and Conſtitution, ſate full and free, the Members of both Houſes being left to their freedome of Voting, as in all reaſon, honour, and Religion, they ſhould have been; I doubt not but things would have been ſo carried, as would have given no leſſe content to all good men, then they wiſhed or expected.

For, I was reſolved to hear reaſon in all things, and to conſent to it ſo far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, ſo are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourſes to publique Councels, turning all into diſorders and ſordid confuſions.

I am prone ſometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England*, (as I might opportunely enough have done) the ſad conſequences in all likelihood, with Gods bleſſing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcome in any place; no place afforded ſuch confluence of various and vitious humours, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we muſt leave all to God, who orders our diſorders, and magnifies his wiſdome moſt, when our follies and miſeries are moſt diſcovered.

But thou O Lord art my refuge and defence, to thee I may ſafely flie, who ruleſt the raging of the Sea, and

and the madneſſe of the People.

The floods, O Lord, the floods are come in upon me, and are ready to overwhelm me.

I look upon my ſinnes, and the ſins of my people, (which are the tumults of our ſouls againſt thee O Lord) as the juſt cauſe of theſe popular inundations which thou permitteſt to over-beare all the banks of loyalty, modeſty, Lawes, Juſtice, and Religion.

But thou that gathereſt the waters into one place, and madeſt the dry land to appear, and after didſt aſſwage the floud which drowned the world, by the word of thy power; Rebuke thoſe beaſts of the people, and deliver me from the rudeneſſe and ſtrivings of the multitude.

Reſtore, we beſeech thee, unto us, the freedomes of our Councels and Parliaments; make us unpaſſionately to ſee the light of Reaſon and Religion, and with all order and gravity to follow it, as it becomes Men and Chriſtians; ſo ſhall we praiſe thy name, who art the God of order and counſel.

What man can not, or will not repreſſe, thy omnipotent juſtice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely ſenſe and ſorrow for their great ſinne, whom thou knoweſt guilty of raiſing, or not ſuppreſſing thoſe diſorders: Let ſhame here, and not ſuffering hereafter be their puniſhment.

Set bounds to our paſſions by Reaſon, to our errours by Truth, to our ſedition by Lawes duly executed, and to our ſchiſmes by Charity, that we may be, as thy Jeruſalem, *a City at unity in it ſelf.*

This grant, O my God, in thy good time for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, Amen.

V. *Vpon His Majesties passing the Bill for the Triennial Parliaments: And after setling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.*

THat the world might be fully confirmed in my purposes at first, to contribute what in Justice, Reason, Honour and Conscience, I could, to the happy successe of this Parliament, (which had in me no other designe but the generall good of my Kingdoms) I willingly passed the Bill for Triennial Parliaments; which, as gentle and seasonable Physick, might (if well applied) prevent any distempers from getting any head or prevailing; especially, if the remedy proved not a disease beyond all remedy.

I conceived, this Parliament would find work with convenient recesses, for the first three years; but I did not imagine that some men would thereby have occasioned more work then they found to do, by undoing so much as they found well done to their hands. Such is some mens activity, that they will needs make work rather then want it; and chuse to be doing amisse, rather then do nothing.

When that first Act seemed too scanty to satisfie some mens fears, and compasse publike affairs; I was perswaded to grant that Bill of sitting during the pleasure of the Houses, which amounted in some mens sense to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this act of highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out, and lock the dore upon all present jealousies and future mistakes: I confesse I did not thereby intend to shut my self out of dores, as some men have now requited me.

True, It was an Act unparellel'd by any of my Predecessors; yet cannot in reason admit of any worse interpretation then this, of an extream confidence I had, that my subjects would not make ill use of an

Act,

Act, by which I declared so much to trust them, as to deny my self in so high a point of my Prerogative.

For good subjects will never think it just or fit that my condition should be worse by my bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been so in the events, if some men had known as well with moderation to use, as with earnestnesse to desire advantages of dooing good or evill.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weale in tune, by preserving Lawes in their due execution and vigour, wherein my interest lies more then any mans, since by those laws, my rights as a King would be preserved no lesse than my subjects, which is all I desired. More then the Law gives me I would not have, and lesse the meanest subject should not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I soon repented me of that setling Act: and many would needs perswade me, I had cause so to do; but I could not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in men of honour. That the more I granted them, the lesse I should have, and enjoy with them. I still counted my self undiminished by my largest concessions, if by them I might gain and confirme the love of my people.

Of which, I do not yet dispaire, but that God will still blesse me with increase of it: when men shall have more leisure and lesse prejudice; that so with unpassionate representations they may reflect upon those, (as I think) not more princely then friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happinesse, who are now only miserable in this, That some mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the loyall and cleared affections of my people will strive to return such retributions of honour, and love to me

or my Posterity, as may fully compensate both the Acts of my confidence and my sufferings for them, which God knows have been neither few, nor small, nor short, occasioned chiefly by a perswasion I had, that I could not grant too much or distrust too little to Men, that being professedly my Subjects, pretended singular piety and religious strictnesse.

The injury of all injuries is, that which some men would needs load me withall; as if I were a wilfull and resolved Occasioner of my Own and my Subjects miseries; (while (as they confidently, but (God knows) falsly divulge) I repining at the establishment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hostility to undoe what by my Royall assent I had done. Sure it had argued a very short sight of things, and extream fatuity of mind in me, so farre to bind my own hands at their request; if I had shortly meant to have used a Sword against them. God knows though I had then a sense of injuries, yet not such as to think them worth vindicating by a Warre: I was not then compelled, as since, to injure my self by their not using favours, with the same candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuse all Acts of Grace, and turn them into wantonnesse: but I thought at length their own fears, whose black arts first raised up those turbulent Spirits would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had justly resented any indignities put upon me or others, was I then in any capacity, to have taken just revenge in an Hostile and Warlike way upon those, whom I knew so well fortified in the love of the meaner sort of the People, that I could not have given my enemies greater, and more desired advantages against me, then by so unprincely inconstancy, to have assaulted them with Armes, thereby to scatter them, whom but lately I had solemnly

ly ſetled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows I longed for nothing more, then that my ſelf and my Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of my many condeſcendings.

It had been a courſe full of ſinne, as well as of hazard and diſhonour, for me to go about cutting up of that by the ſword, which I had ſo lately planted, ſo much (as I thought,) to my Subjects contents, and mine own too in all probability; If ſome men had not feared where no feare was, whoſe ſecurity conſiſted in ſcaring others.

I thank God I know ſo well the ſincerity and uprightneſſe of my own heart, in paſſing that great Bill which exceeded the very thoughts of former times; that although I may ſeem leſſe a Polititian to men, yet I need no ſecret diſtinctions or evaſions before God. Nor had I any reſervations in my own ſoule, when I paſſed it; nor repentings after, till I ſaw that my letting ſome men go up to the pinacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to caſt me down head-long.

Concluding that without a miracle, Monarchy it ſelfe, together with me, could not but be daſhed in peeces, by ſuch a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive, and make them ſee at length, that as many kingdomes as the devill ſhewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them,) are not worth the gaining by wayes of ſinfull ingratitude and diſhonour, which hazzards a Soule worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdomes.

But God hath hitherto preſerved me, and made me to ſee, that it is no ſtrange thing for men left to their own paſſions, either to do much evil themſelves, or abuſe the overmuch goodneſſe of others, whereof an ungratefull Surfet is the moſt deſparate and incurable diſeaſe.

cannot ſay properly that I repent of that Act, ſince I have no reflections upon, is as a ſinne of my will, though an errour of too charitable a judgment: Only I am ſorry other mens eyes ſhould be evill becauſe mine were good.

To thee (O my God) do I ſtill apeale, whoſe All-diſcerning Juſtice ſees through all the diſguiſes of mens pretenſions, and deceitfull darkneſſes of their hearts.

Thou gaveſt me a heart to grant much to My Subjects; and now I need a Heart fitted to ſuffer much from ſome of them.

Thy will be done, though never ſo much to the croſſing of ours, even when we hope to do what might be moſt conformable to thine and theirs too; who pretended they aimed at nothing elſe.

Let thy grace teach me wiſely to enjoy as well the fruſtratings, as the fulfillings of My beſt hopes, and moſt ſpecious deſires.

I ſee while I thought to allay others feares, I have raiſed Mine own; and by ſetling them, have unſeled My ſelfe.

Thus have they requited Me evil for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.

O Lord be thou My Pilot in this dark and dangerous ſtorme, which neither admits My returne to the Port whence I ſet out, nor My making any other, with that ſafety and honour which I deſigned.

Tis eaſie for Thee to keep Me ſafe in the love and confidence of My people; nor is it hard for Thee to preſerve Me amidſt the unjuſt hatred and jealouſies of too many, which thou haſt ſuffered ſo far to prevail upon Me, as to be able to pervert and abuſe My acts of greateſt Indulgence to them, and aſſurance of them.

But no favours from Me can make others more guilty then My ſelfe may be, of miſuſing thoſe many and great ones, which thou, O Lord, haſt conferred on Me.

I beſeech Thee give Me and them ſuch repentance, as

thou

thou wilt accept, and such Grace as we may not abuse.

Make me so far happy, as to make a right use of others abuses, and by their failings of me, to reflect with a reforming displeasure upon my offences against thee.

So, although by my sins I am by other mens sins deprived of thy temporal blessings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raise the greatest Sufferers to be the most glorious Saints.

VI. *Upon His Majesties retirement from* Westminster.

WIth what unwillingnesse I withdrew from *Westminster*, let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling and victual, are forced by sea to a storm: yet better do so, then venture splitting or sinking on a Lee-shore.

I stayed at *Whitehall*, till I was driven away by shame more then fear; to see the barbarous rudenes of those Tumults, who resolved they would take the boldnesse to demand any thing, and not leave either my self, or the Members of Parliament the liberty of our Reason and Conscience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppression my case alone (though chiefly mine) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be over voted by the *major* part of their Houses, when they had used each their own freedome. Whose agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reason conclusive to my jndgment; nor can they include or carry with them my consent, whom they represent not in any kind; Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses, then I see them agree with the will of God, with my just Rights as a King, and the general good of my people. I see, that as many men they are seldome of

one mind; and I may oft see, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to sober and moderate mindes, how desirous I was to give all just content, when I agreed to so many Bills, which had been enough to secure and satisfie all: if some mens Hydropick insatiableness had not learned to thirst the more, by how much more they drank, whom no fountain of Royal bounty was able to overcome: so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure it ceases to be Councel, when not Reason is used as to men to perswade, but force and terrour as to beasts, to drive and compell men to assent to whatever tumultuary Patrones shall project. He deserves to be a slave without pity or redemption, that is content to have the rational soveraignty of his Soul, and liberty of his will and words so captivated.

Nor do I think my Kingdom so considerable, as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that freedome, which cannot be denied me as a King, because it belongs to me as a man and a Christian; owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above Me, as obliging me to consent. Better for me to die enjoying this Empire of my Soul, which subjects me only to God, so far as by Reason or Religion he directs me, then live with the Title of a King, if it should carry such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer me to use my Reason and Conscience, in which I declare as a King to like or dislike.

So farre am I from thinking the Majesty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blind and brutish formality, to consent to whatever its Subjects in Parliament shall require, as some men will needs inferre; while denying me any power of a Negative voice as King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive me of the liberty of using

my

my reason with a good Conscience, which themselves and all the Commons of *England*, enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick; who would take it very ill to be urged not to deny whatever my self as King; or the House of Peers with me, should not so much desire as enjoyn them to passe, I think my Oath fully discharged in that point, by my governing only by such Laws, as my People with the House of Peers have chosen, and my self have consented to; I shall never think my self conscienciously tied to go as oft against my conscience as I should consent to such new Proposals, which my reason in Justice, Honour, and Religion bid me deny.

Yet so tender I see some men are of their being subject to Arbitrary Government, (that is the Law of anothers will, to which themselves give no consent, (that they care not with how much dishonour and absurdity they make their King the only man; that must be subject to the will of others, without having power left him to use his own Reason, either in Person, or by any Representation.

And if my dissentings at any time were (as some have suspected and uncharitably avowed out of errour, opinion, activenesse, weaknesse or wilfulnesse, and what they call obstinacy in me, (which not true judgement of things, but some vehement prejudice or passion have fixed on my mind;) yet can no man think it other then the Badge and Method of slavery, by savage rudenesse, and importunate obtrusions of violence to have the mist of his errour and passion dispelled, which is a shadow of reason, and must serve those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who seriously endeavours to see the best reason of things, and faithfully follows what he takes for reason: The uprightnesse of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding; If a Pilot at sea

cannot see the Pole-star, it can be no fault in him to steere his course by such stars as do best appeare to him. It argues rather those men to be conscious of their defects of reason and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carry on the weakness of their Councels and Proposals. I may in the truth and uprightness of my heart, protest before God and Men; that I never wilfully opposed or denyed any thing that was in a faire way, after full and free debates propounded to me by the two Houses, further then I thought in good reason I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please me more, then when my Judgement so concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conscience consent to them: yea, in many things where not absolute and morall necessity of reason, but temporary convenience on point of Honour was considered. I chose rather to deny my self then them; as preferring that which they thought necessary for my Peoples good, before what I saw but convenient for my self.

For I can be content to recede much from my own intereſts and Personall Rights, of which I conceive my self to be Master; but in what concerns Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and my Crown, together with the generall good of my Kingdomes; (all which I am bound to preserve as much as morally lies in me) here I am, and ever shall be fixt and resolute, nor shall any man gain my consent to that wherein my heart gives my tongue or hand the Lie? nor will I be brought to affirme that to men, which in my Conscience I denied before God. I will rather chuse to wear a crown of thorns with my Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to me) for one of lead, whose embased flexibleness shall be forced to bend, and comply to the various and oft contrary dictates of any factions: when in stead of

rea-

reason and publike concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interest of Parties, and flowes from the partialities of private wils and passions.

I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, then to preferre his Conscience before his Kingdomes.

O my God preserve thy servant in this Native, Rationall and religious freedom; for this I beleeve is thy will, that we should maintaine: who, though thou dost justly require us, to submit our understandings and our wils to thine, whose wisedome and goodnesse can neither erre nor misguide us, and so farre to deny our carnal reason in order to thy sacred mysteries and commands, that we should beleeve and obey rather then dispute them; yet dost thou expect from us, only such a reasonable service of thee, as not to do any thing for thee against our consciences; and as to the desires of men, enjoyneſt us to try all things by the touch-stone of Reason and Lawes, which are the rules of civil Justice; and to declare our consents to that only which our Judgements approve.

Thou knoweſt, ô Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which thou hast set me, and whereto the affaires of my kingdomes at present did call me.

My People can witnesse how far I have been content for their good, to deny my self, in what thou hast subjected to my disposall.

O Let not the unthankfull importunities, and tumultuary violences of some mens immoderate demands, ever betray me to that degenerous and unmanly slavery, which should make me strengthen them by my consent in those things which I think in my Conscience to be against thy glory, the good of my Subjects, and the discharge of my own duty to Reason and Justice.

Make me willing to suffer the greatest indignities,

and injuries they presse upon me, rather then commit the least sinne against my Conscience.

Let the just Liberties of my people be (as well they may) preserved in fair and equall wayes, without the slavery of my soul.

Thou hast invested me by thy favours, in the power of a Christian King; suffer me not to subject my Reason to other mens passions and designs, which to me seem unreasonable, unjust, and irreligious: So shall I serve thee in the truth and uprightnesse of my heart, though I cannot satisfie these men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give me grace to walk alwayes uprightly before thee.

Lead me in the way of Truth and Justice: for these I know, will bring me at last to peace and happinesse with thee; though for these I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for my Saviours sake.

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7. *Upon the Queens departure, and absence out of* England.

ALthough I have much cause to be troubled at my Wifes departure from me, and out of my dominions: yet not her absence, so much, as the scandal of that necessity which drives her away, doth afflict me. That she should be compelled by my own Subjects, and those pretending to be Protestants, to withdraw for her safety: This being the first example of any Protestant Subjects that have taken up Arms against their King a Protestant: For I look upon this now done in *England*, as another Act of the same Tragedy which was lately begun in *Scotland*; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flame here. I fear such motions (so little to the adoreing of the Protestant profession) may occasion a further

ther alienation of minde, and divorce of affections in her from that Religion, which is the only thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away, and not suffer these practises to be any obstruction to her judgment: since it is the motion of those men (for the most part) who are yet to seek and setule their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and so not to be imputed to the true English Protestants, who continue firm to their former setled Principles and Lawes.

I am sorry, my relation so deserving a Lady, should be any occasion of her danger and affliction; whose merits would have served her for a protection among the savage *Indians*, while their rudenesse and barbarity knows not so perfectly to hate all Vertues, as some mens subtilty doths among whom I yet think few are so malicious as to hate her for her self: The fault is, that she is My wife.

All justice then, as well as affection, commands me to study her Security, who is only in danger for my sake: I am content to be tossed, weather-beaten, and shipwrackt, so as she may be in safe Harbour.

This comfort I shall enjoy by her safety in the midst of my personal dangers, that I can perish but half, if she be preserved: In whose memory, and hopefull Posterity, I may yet survive the malice of my enemies, although they should be satiated with my bloud.

I must leave her, and them, to the Love and Loyalty of my good Subjects; and to His protection, who is able to punish the faults of Princes, and no lesse severely to revenge the injuries done to them, by those who in all duty and Allegiance ought to have made good that safety, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vain expected from those that dispute their Loyalty: Nor can it be safe (for

any relation) to a King to tarry among them who are ſhaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faſter hold on their Religion.

'Tis pity ſo noble and peaceful a ſoule ſhould ſee, much more ſuffer; the rudeneſſe of thoſe, who muſt make up their want of juſtice, with inhumanity and impudence.

Her ſympathy with me in my afflictions, will make her vertues ſhine with greater luſtre, as ſtars in the darkeſt night; and aſſure the envious world, that ſhe loves Me, not my fortunes.

Neither of us but can eaſily forgive; ſince we do not much blame the unkindneſſe of the Generality, and Vulgar: for we ſee God is pleaſed to try both our patience, by the moſt ſelf-puniſhing ſin, the Ingratitude of thoſe, who having eaten of our bread, and being enriched with our bounty, have ſcornfully lift up themſelves againſt us; and thoſe of our own houſhold are become our enemies. I pray God lay not their ſin to their charge, who think to ſatisfie all obligations to duty, by their Corban of Religion: and can leſſe endure to ſee them to ſin againſt their benefactours as well as their Soveraigns.

But even that policy of my enemies is ſo far venial, as it was neceſſary to their deſigns, by ſcandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanour to ſeek to drive her out of my Kingdoms; leſt by the influence of her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyalty as a Subject, ſhe ſhould have converted to, or retained in their love and loyalty, all thoſe whom they had a purpoſe to pervert.

The leſſe I may be bleſt with her company, the more I will retire to God and my own heart, whence no malice can baniſh her. My enemies may envy, but they can never deprive me of the enjoyment of her vertues, while I enjoy my ſelf.

Thou

Thou O Lord whose Justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy mercy in thy due time, reunite us on earth, if it be thy will, however bring us both at last to thy heavenly kingdome.

Preserve us from the hands of our despitefull and deadly enemies; and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though we differ in some things as to Religion, which is my greatest temporall infelicity; yet Lord give, and accept the sincerity of our affections, which desire to seeke, find, to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy selfe, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to know in order to thy glory, our publike relations and our soules eternal good, and make us carefull to do what good we know.

Let neither Ignorance of what is necessary to be known, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what we know, be our misery or our wilfull default.

Let not this great scandall of those my subjects, which professe the same Religion with me, be any hinderance to her love of any Truth thou wouldst have her to learn, nor any hardning of her, in any errour thou wouldst have cleared to her.

Let mine, and other mens constancy be an Antidote against the poyson of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I professe, be represented to her Judgement, with all the beauties of Humility, Loyalty, Charity, and Peaceablencsse; which are the proper fruits, and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levity, Schisme, Heresie, Novelty, Cruelty, and Disloyalty, which some mens practises have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving Truths, as Thine; that she may believe, love, and obey them as Thine, cleared from all rust and drosse of humane mixtures.

That in the glasse of thy Truth she may see thee, in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Son Jesus Christ, our only Saviour, and serve thee in all those Holy duties, which most agree with his holy doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanity, and uncertainty of all humane glory, and greatnesse in our scatterings and Eclipses, let it make us both so much the more ambitious to be invested in those durable honours, and perfections, which are only to be found in thy selfe, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

VIII. *Upon his Majesties repulse at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulse at *Hull* seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyalty, that my greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abet, or owne it: It was the first overt Essay to be made, how patiently I could bear the losse of my Kingdoms.

God knowes, it affected me more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for my self; nor did the affront done to me trouble me so much as their sin, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to bear this, and much more, with patience: But I foresaw they could hardly contein themselves within the compasse of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soon after to overspread the whole kingdome, and cast all into disorder and darknesse.

For 'tis among the wicked maximes of bold and disloyall undertakers: That bad actions must alwayes be seconded with worse, and rather not be begun then not carried on, for they think the retreat more dangerous then the assault, and hate repentance more then perseverance in a Fault. This

This gave me to see clearly through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of some men; whose words were sometimes smother then oyle, but now I saw they would prove very swords.

Against which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conscience, thought it my best policy with patience to bear what I could not remedy: And in this (thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdaine, or emotion of passion transported me, by the indignity of his carriage, to do or say any thing, unbeseeming my self, or unsutable to that temper, which in greatest injuries, I think, best becomes a Christian, as coming neerest to the great example of Christ.

And indeed I desire alwayes more to remember I am a Christian then a King: for what the Majesty of one might justly abhor, the charity of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Christian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compasse all those impotent passions, whose excesse injures a man more then his greatest enemies can; for these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which otherwayes cannot reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but observe how God not long after so pleaded, and avenged my cause, in the eye of the world, that the most wilfully blind cannot avoid the displeasure to see it, and with some remorse and fear to own it as a notable stroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham*, unreproached, unthreated, uncursed, by any language or secret imprecation of mine, only blasted with the conscience of his own wickednesse, and falling from one inconstency to another, not long after paies his own and his eldest sons heads, as forfeitures of their disloyalty, to those men, from whom surely he might have expected another reward

then

then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts with them were divided from their King.

Nor is it strang that they who employed them at first in so high a service, and so successefull to them, should not finde mercy enough to forgive him, who had so much premerited of them: For, Apostacy unto Loyalty some men account the most unpardonable sin.

Nor did a solitary vengeance serve the turn, the cutting off one head in a family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Commonweale. The eldest son must be involved in the punishment, as he was infected with the sin of the Father, against the Father of his Country: Root and Branch God cuts off in one day.

These observations are obvious to every fancy: God knows, I was far from rejoycing in the *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full drought, being executed by them who first employed him against me) that I so far pitied him; as I thought he at first acted more against the light of his conscience, then I hope many other men do in the same cause.

For, he was never thought to be of that superstitious sowrenesse, which some men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which so darkens their judgement, that they cannot see any thing of Sin and Rebellion in those means, they use, with intents to reformie to their Models, of what they call Religion, who think all is gold of piety, which doth but glister with a shew of zeal and fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and so most liable to those down right temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which makes me more pity him is, that after he began to have some inclinations towards a repentance

tance for his ſin, and reparation of his duty to me, he ſhould be ſo unhappy as to fall into the hands of their juſtice, and not my mercy, who could as willingly have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of me.

For I think clemency a debt, which we ought to pay to thoſe that crave it, when we have cauſe to believe they would not abuſe it, ſince God himſelf ſuffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy but only prayers and praiſes.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a notable monument of unproſperous diſloyalty, teaching the world by ſo ſad and unfortunate a ſpectacle, that the rude carriage of a ſubject towards his Soveraign carries alwayes its own vengeance, as an unſeparable ſhadow with it, and thoſe oft prove the moſt fatal, and implacable executioners of it, who were the firſt imployers in the ſervice.

After-times will diſpute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower hill*, though 'tis certain that no puniſhment ſo ſtains a mans honour, as wilful perpetrations of unworthy actions; which beſides the conſcience of the ſin, brands with moſt indelible characters of infamy, the name and memory to poſterity, who not ingaged in the factions of the times, have the moſt impartiall reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who haſt in ſo remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, ſuffer me not to take any ſecret pleaſure in it, for as his death hath ſatisfied the injury he did to me, ſo let me not by it gratifie any paſſion in me, leaſt I make thy vengeance to be mine, and conſider the affront againſt me, more then the ſin againſt thee.

Thou indeed, without any deſire or endeavour of mine haſt made his miſchief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou

Thou haſt pleaded my cauſe, even before the ſons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy work, and ſee that thou, Lord, haſt done it.

I do not, I dare not ſay, ſo let mine enemies periſh O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy bleſſed will.

Let not thy juſtice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy; yea, let them live and amend, who have moſt offended me in ſo high a nature; that I may have thoſe to forgive, who bear moſt proportion in their offences to thoſe treſpaſſes againſt thy Majeſty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Lord, lay not their ſins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their conſciences for amendment: Let the lighting of this thunderbolt, which hath been ſo ſevere a puniſhment to one, be a terrour to all.

Diſcover to them their ſin, who know not that they have done amiſſe, and ſcare them from their ſin, that ſin of malicious wickedneſſe.

That preventing thy judgements by their true repentance, they may eſcape the ſtrokes of thine eternall vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, eſtabliſh the Throne of thy ſervant in mercy, and truth, meeting together; let my Crown ever flouriſh in righteouſneſſe, and peace, kiſſing each other.

Heare my Prayer, O Lord, who haſt taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our enemies, for thy ſake, who haſt prevented us with offertures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and haſt ſent thy Sonne Jeſus Chriſt to die for us, when we were diſpoſed to crucifie him.

IX. *Upon the listing, and raising Armies against the King.*

I find that I am at the same point and posture I was when they forced me to leave *White-hall*; what tumults could not do, an Army must; which is but tumults listed and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: my recesse hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And so I easily may as to any outward strength, which God knows is little or none at all: But I have a soule through Gods grace enabling me; here I am sure to be Conquerour, if God will give me such a measure of constancy, as to fear him more then man: and to love the inward peace of my conscience, before any outward tranquillity.

And must I be opposed with force, because they have not reason wherewith to convince me? O my soule! be of good courage, they confesse their owne weaknesse as to Truth and Justice, who chose rather to contend by Armies then by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks I am to receive, for those many Acts of grace I have lately passed, and for those many indignities I have endured? Is there no way left to make me a glorious King but by my sufferings?

It is a hard and disputable choyce for a King, that loves his People, and desires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killdd by them:

Are the hazards and miseries of Civil War in the bowels of my most flourishing Kingdome, the fruits I must now reap after 17. years living and reigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, Peace Plenty and Religion, as all Nations about either admired or envied? notwithstanding some miscarriages in Government, which might escape; rather through ill [illegible]nsell of some men, driving on their private

private ends, or the peevishnesse of others, envying the publick, should be managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then any propensity I hope, of my self, either to injuriousnesse or oppression.

Whose innocent blood during my Reign have I shed, to satisfie my lust, anger or covetousnesse? what Widows or Orphans tears can witnesse against me; the just cry of which must now be avenged with my own blood? for the hazzards of warre are equall, nor doth the Canon know any respect of Persons.

In vain is my Person, excepted by a *Parenthesis* of words, when so many hands are armed against me with Swords.

God knows how much I have studied to see what ground of Justice is alledged for this war against me; that so I might (by giving just satisfaction) either prevent, or soon end so unnaturall a motion; which to many men) seems rather the productions of a surfeit of peace, and wantonnesse of mindes, or of private discontents, ambition and faction, (which easily find, or make causes of quarrel) then any reall obstructions of publike Justice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I must be able to avoid and answer before God in my conscience, however some men are not willing to beleeve me, lest they should condemne themselves.

When I first withdrew from *White-hall*, to see if I could allay the insolency of the Tumults, (the not suppressing of which, no account in reason can be given, (where an orderly guard was granted) but only to oppresse both mine and the two Houses freedome, of declaring and voting according to every mans conscience) what obstructions of Justice were there further then this, that what seemed just to one man, might not seem so to another.

Whom did I by power protect against the Justice of Parliament? That

That ſome men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their tryall, (warned by my Lord of *Straffords* death) while the vulgar threatned to be their Oppreſſors, and Judgers of their Judges, was from that inſtinct, which is in all creatures to preſerve themſelves. If any others refuſed to appeare, where they evidently ſee the current of Juſtice and Freedome ſo ſtopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull Judges either durſt not come to the Houſes, or not declare their ſenſe with liberty and ſafety; it cannot ſeem ſtrange to any reaſonable man, when the ſole expoſing them to publike *odium*, was enough to ruine them, before their cauſe could be heard or tryed.

Had not factions, tumults, overborn the freedome and honour of the two Houſes; had they aſſerted their Juſtice againſt them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their conſciences: I know no man ſo deare to me, whom I had the leaſt inclination to adviſe either to withdraw himſelf, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whoſe ſentence according to law (I thinke) every Subject bound to ſtand.

Diſtempers (indeed) were riſen to ſo great a heigth, for want of timely repreſſing the vulgar Inſolencies; that the greateſt guilt of thoſe which were voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, that they would not ſuffer themſelves to be overaw'd with tumults and their Patrons: nor compelled to abet by their ſuffrages or Preſence; the deſigees of thoſe men who agitated innovations and ruine both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous conſtancy and cautiouſneſſe; further then this I did never allow any mans refractorineſſe againſt the Priviledges and Orders of the Houſes; to whom I wiſhed nothing more then ſafety, fulneſſe and freedome.

But

But the truth is, ſome men, and thoſe not many, deſpairing in fair and Parliamentary wayes by free deliberations and Votes to gain the concurrence of the major part of Lords and Commons, betook themſelves (by the deſperate activity of factious Tumults) to ſift and terrifie away all thoſe Members whom they ſaw to be of contrary minds to their purpoſes.

How oft was the buſineſſe of the Biſhops enjoying their ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the Houſe of Peers, carried for them by far the major part of Lords. Yet after five repulſes, contrary to all order and cuſtome, it was by Tumultuary inſtigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when moſt of the Peers were forced to abſent themſelves.

In like manner was the Bill againſt Root & Branch brought on by tumultuary Clamours, and ſchiſmatical Terrors, which could never paſſe, till both Houſes were ſufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partiality, while in all Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion, my conſcience forbids me, by conſenting, to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; I muſt now be urged with an Army, and conſtrained either to hazard my own, and my Kingdoms ruine, by my Defence; or proſtrate my Conſcience to the blind obedience of thoſe men, whoſe zealous ſuperſtition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater ſervice, then utterly to deſtroy that Primitive, Apoſtolical, and anciently Univerſal Government of the Church by Biſhops.

Which if other mens judgments bind them to maintain, or forbids them to conſent to the aboliſhing of it; Mine much more; who, beſides the grounds I have in my judgment, have alſo a moſt ſtrict & indiſpenſable Oath upon my Conſcience, to preſerve that Order and the Rights of the Church: to which moſt ſacrilegious and abhorred perjury, moſt un-beſeeming a Chriſtian King, ſhould I ever by giving my conſent

be

be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater misery, then any hath or can befall me, inasmuch as the least sinne hath more evill in it then the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-Episcopall Faction at first in this point, with my consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiastical Goverment, and Revenues, to the fury of their covetousnesse, ambition and revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable necessity of raising an Army to fetch in and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was done with a firm perswasion of their contentednesto suffer a present diminution in their Rights and Honour, for My sake and the Common-weals, which I was confident they would readily yield unto, rather then occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers to me, or to my Kingdom. That I cannot adde my consent for the total extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tie upon my Conscience, as what I think Religious and Apostolical, and so very Sacred and Divine, is not to be dispensed with, or destroyed; when what is only of civil Favour, and priviledge of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their consent who are concerned in it, be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of Justice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witnesse, I knew none of such consequence as was worth speaking of a War, being only such as Justice, Reason and Religion had made in my own and other mens Consciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made; which were but consequences necessarily following upon mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence against violence: but those could not be the first occasion of raising an Army against me. Where-

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in I was ſo far from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might ſeem to have the advantage and juſtice of the defenſive part, and load me with all the envies and injuries of firſt aſſaulting them) that God knows, I had not ſo much as any hopes of an Army in my thoughts. Had the Tumults been honourably and effectually repreſſed by exemplary juſtice, and the liberty of the Houſes ſo vindicated, that all Members of either Houſe might with honour and freedome, becoming ſuch a Senate, have come and diſcharged their conſciences. I had obtained all that I deſigned by my withdrawing; and had much more willingly, and ſpeedily returned then I retired; this being my neceſſity driving, the other my choiſe deſiring.

But ſome men knew, I was like to bring the ſame judgement and conſtancy, which I carried with me, which would never fit their deſigns: and ſo while they invited me to come, and grievouſly complained of my abſence, yet they could not but be pleaſed with it: eſpecially when they had found out that plauſible and popular pretext of raiſing an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never puniſhed the greateſt and moſt intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave my ſelf, and ſo many of both Houſes from their places, by moſt barbarous indignities, which yet in all reaſon and honour, they were as loath to have deſerted, as thoſe others were willing they ſhould, that ſo they might have occaſion to perſecute them with the injuries of an Army, for not ſuffering more tamely the injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true ſtate and firſt drift and deſign in raiſing an Army againſt me, is by the ſequell ſo evident, that all other pretences vaniſh. For when they declared by Propoſitions or Treaties, what they would have to appeaſe them; there was nothing of con-

consequence offered to me, or demanded of me, as any originall difference in any point of law, or order of justice. But among other lesser innovations, this chiefly was urged, the abolition of Episcopall, and the establishment of Presbyteriall Governments

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or easily granted by me, and only to make up a number, or else they were meerly consequential, or accessary, after the War was by them unjustly begun.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noise and shew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily so fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearnesse of judgement might be obstructed. But this was and is, as to my best observation, the true state of affairs between us, when they first raised an Army, with this designe, either to stop my mouth, or to force my consent: and in this truth, as to my conscience (who was (God knowes) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the world from having any preparation for one) I find that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfortunate successes of this War, on my side, I do not think my innocency any whit prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that integrity, and peace before God, as with humble confidence to addresse my prayer to him.

For thou, O Lord seest clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgest without prejudice: Thy Omniscience eternally guides thy unerrable judgement.

O my God, the proud are risen against me, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after my soule, and have not set thee before their eyes.

Consider my enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cause.

For Thou knowest, I had no passion, designe, or prepa-

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ration to embroyl my kingdoms in a civill War; whereto I had leaſt temptation; as knowing I muſt adventure more then any, and could gaine leaſt of any by it.

Thou O Lord, art my witneſſe how oft I have deplored, and ſtudied to divert the neceſſity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought ſo prodigally thirſty of my ſubjects bloud, as to venture my own life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappy War; and which were better ſpent to ſave then to deſtroy my people.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to bring upon me; but much more to bear the unjuſt reproaches of thoſe, who not content that I ſuffer moſt by the war, will needs perſwade the World that I have raiſed firſt, or given juſt cauſe to raiſe it.

The confidence of ſome mens falſe tongues is ſuch, that they would make me almoſt ſuſpect my own innocency: Yea, I could be content (at leaſt by my ſilence) to take upon me ſo great a guilt before men, if by that I might allay the malice of my enemies, and redeem my people from this miſerable war; ſince thou O Lord knoweſt my innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt finde out bloudy and deceitfull men; many of whom have not lived out half their dayes, in which they promiſed themſelves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked counſels.

Save, O Lord thy ſervant, as hitherto thou haſt, and in thy due time ſcatter the people that delight in War.

Ariſe O Lord, lift up thy ſelf, becauſe of the rage of mine enemies, which encreaſeth more and more. Behold them that have conceived miſchief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falſhood.

Thou knoweſt the chief deſign of this War is, either to deſtroy my perſon, or force my judgement, and to make me renege my conſcience and thy truth.

I am driven to croſſe Davids choiſe and deſire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though

(though their mercies be cruel) then into thy hands by sinning against my Conscience, and in that against thee, who art a consuming fire; Better they destroy me, then thou shouldst damn me.

Be thou ever the defence of my soul, who wilt save the upright in heart.

If nothing but my blood will satisfie my enemies, or quench the flames of my Kingdomes, or thy temporal Justice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be shed by mine own Subjects hands.

But o let the blood of me, though their King, yet a sinner, be washed with the blood of my innocent and peace-making Redeemer, for in that thy Justice will find not only a temporary expiation, but an eternall plenary satisfaction, both for my sins, and the sinnes of my people; whom I beseech thee still own for thine, and when thy wrath is appeased by my Death, O Remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them! O my Father, for they know not what they do.

X. *Upon their seizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.*

HOw unruly I am charged with the first raising of an Army, and beginning this Civill War, the eyes that only pity me, and the loyall hearts that durst only pray for me, at first might witnesse, which yet appeare not so many on my side, as there were men in Armes listed against me; my unpreparednesse for a War, may well dishearten those that would help me; while it argues (truly) my unwillingnesse to fight; yet it testifies for me that I am set on the defensive part; having so little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend my self or to preserve what is mine own from their proreption.

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No man can doubt but they prevented me in their purpoſess well as their injuries, who are ſo much aforehand in their Preparations againſt me, and ſurprizals of my ſtrength. Such as are not for them, yet dare not be for me; ſo overaw'd is their loyalty by the others numbers and terrours. I beleeve my innocency and unpreparedneſſe to aſſert my Rights and Honour, makes me the more guilty in their eſteem; who would not ſo eaſily have declared a War againſt me, if I had firſt aſſaulted them.

They knew my chiefeſt Armies left me; were thoſe only, which the ancient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt their Perſecutors, Prayers and Tears. Theſe may ſerve a good mans turn, if not to conquer as a Souldier, yet to ſuffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of me, & ſurprizing my Caſtles, Forts, Arms & Navy, with the *Militia*, is ſo far beſt for me, that it may drive me from putting any truſt in the arme of fleſh, and wholly to caſt my ſelfe into the protection of the living God, who can ſave by few or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may alſo make their ſurprizall of outward force and defence, an opportunity to ſhew me the ſpeciall ſupport of his power and protection.

I thank God, I reckon not now the want of the *Militia*, ſo much in reference to my own protection as my Peoples.

Their many and ſore oppreſſions grieve me, I am above my owne, what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the ſtrange method theſe men will needs take to reſolve their riddle of making me a glorious King, by taking away my Kingly Power: Thus I ſhall become a ſupport to my friends, and a terrour to my enemies, by being unable to ſuccour the one or ſuppreſſe the other. For

For thus have they designed & proposed to me the new modelling of Soveraignty and Kingship, as without any reality of power, so without any necessity of subjection and obedience: That the Majesty of the Kings of *England* might hereafter hang like *Mahomets* tomb, by a magnetique Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houses, in an aiery imagination of Regality.

But I believe, the surfeit of too much Power, which some men have greedily seized on, and now seek wholly to devour, will ere long make the Commonwealth sick both of it and them, since they cannot well digest it: Soveraign power in Subjects seldom agreeing with the stomacks of fellow-Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the constant *Militia* sought, by satisfying their feares and importunities, both to secure my Friends, and overcome mine Enemies, to gain the peace of all, by depriving my self of a sole power to help, or hurt any: yielding the *Militia* (which is my undoubted Right no lesse than the Crown) to be disposed of as the two Houses shall think fit, during my time.

So willing am I to bury all jealousies in them of me, and to live above all jealousies of them as to my self: I desire not to be safer then I wish them and my people. If I had the sole actual disposing of the *Militia*, I could not protect my people, further then they protected me and themselves: so that the use of the *Militia* is mutual. I would but defend my self so far, as to be able to defend my good Subjects from those mens violence and fraud, who conscious to their own evil merits and designs, will needs perswade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be trusted with the custody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught my Subjects, since power hath been wrested from me, and imployed against me and them, that neither can be safe if both be not in such a

way as the Law hath entrusted the publique safety and welfare.

Yet even this Concession of mine, as to the exercise of the *Militia*, so vast and large, is not satisfactory to some men; which seem to be enemies not to Me only, but to all Monarchy; and are resolved to transmit to posterity such jealousies of the Crown, as they should never permit it to enjoy its just and necessary Rights in point of Power; to which (at last) all Law is resolved, while thereby it is best protected.

But here Honour and Justice due to my Successors forbid me to yield to such a totall alienation of that power from them, which civility and duty (no lesse then justice and honour) should have forbad them to have asked of me.

For, although I can be content to ecclypse my own beams, to satisfie their feares, who think they must needs be scorched or blinded, if I should shine in the full lustre of Kingly power, wherewith God and the Lawes have invested me: yet I will never consent to put out the Sun of Soveraignty to all Posterity and succeeding Kings; whose just recovery of their Rights from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never be prejudiced or obstructed by any Act of mine, which indeed would not be more injurious to succeeding Kings, then to my Subjects, whom I desire to leave in a condition not wholly desperate for the future, so as by a Law to be ever subjected to those many factious distractions, which must needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which as it makes a shew to the People to have more eyes to foresee, so they will find it hath more mouths too, which must be satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrosity, than any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy; where Counsel may be in many as the Senses, but the Supreme power can be but in one as the Head.

Happily when men have tryed the horrours and ma-

malignant influence which will certainly follow my enforced darkneſſe and Eclypſe, (occaſioned by the interpoſition and ſhadow of that body, which as the Moon receiveth its chief ſt light from me) they will at length more eſteem and welcome the reſtored glory and bleſſing of the Suns light.

And if at preſent I may ſeem by my receding ſo much from the uſe of my Right in the power of the *Militia*, to come ſhort of the diſcharge of that truſt to which I am ſworn for my peoples protection; I conceive thoſe menare guilty (if the enforced perjury (if it may ſeem) who compell me to take this new and ſtrange way of diſcharging my truſt, by ſeeming to deſert it; of protecting my Subjects, by expoſing my ſelf to danger or diſhonour, for their ſafety and quiet. Which in the conflicts of Civil war, and advantages of power, cannot be effected but by ſome ſide yielding: To which the greateſt love of the publike peace, and the firmeſt aſſurance of Gods protection (ariſing from a good conſcience) doth more invite me, than can be expected from other mens feares; which ariſing from the injuſtice of their actions (though never ſo ſucceſsfull) yet dare not adventure their Authours upon any other way of ſafety then that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weak defences againſt the ſtrokes of Divine vengeance which will overtake, or of mens own Conſciences which alwayes attend iniurious perpetrations.

For my ſelf, I do not think that *I* can want any thing which Providential neceſſity is pleaſed to take from me, in order to my peoples tranquility, and Gods glory, whoſe protection is ſufficient for me; and he is able by his being wth me, abundantly to compenſate to me as he did to *Iob*, whatever honor, power or liberty, the Caldeans, Sabeans, or the Devil himſelf can deprive me of. Although they take from me all defence of Arms & *Militia*, all refuge by land of Forts & Caſtl-

all flight by Sea, in my Ships and Navy; yea, though they ſtudy to rob me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greateſt treaſure and beſt ammunition of a King; yet cannot they deprive me of my own innocency, or Gods mercy, nor obſtruct my way to Heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I flie for help; if thou wilt be on my ſide, I ſhall have more with me then can be againſt me.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I deſire in compariſon of thee: In the loſſe of all, be thou more then all to me: Make haſte to ſuccour me, thou that never faileſt them that put their truſt in thee.

Thou ſeeſt I have no power to oppoſe them that come againſt me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me: But my eyes are toward thee.

Thou needeſt no help, nor ſhall I, if I may have thine; if not to conquer, yet at leaſt to ſuffer.

If thou delighteſt not in my ſafety and proſperity, behold here I am, willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me, whoſe judgments oft begin with thy own children. I am content to be nothing, that thou mayſt be all.

Thou haſt taught me, that no King can be ſaved by the multitude of an Hoſt; but yet thou canſt ſave me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of hoſts, and the Father of mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am ſore diſtreſſed on every ſide, yet be thou on my ſide, and I ſhall not fear what man can do unto me.

I will give thy Juſtice the glory of my diſtreſſe.

O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that perſecute my ſoul!

By my ſins have I fought againſt thee, and robed thee of thy glory, who am thy ſubject; and juſtly mayeſt thou, by my own Subjects, ſtrip me of my ſtrength, and eclypſe my glory.

But

But shew thy self, O my hope and only refuge! Let not mine enemies say, There is no help for him in his God. Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my foot step slip not. Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the shadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindnesse, O thou that savest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them.

From the wicked that oppresse me, from my deadly enemies that compasse me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy presence is fulnesse of joy, at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

XI *Upon the 19 Propositions first sent to the King; and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things they demand; yet if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set my own safety, and my peoples peace; which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, save only the parting with my Conscience and Honour. If nothing else will satisfie, I must chuse rather to be as miserable and inglorious, as my enemies can make or wish me.

Some things here propounded to me, have been offered by me, Others are easily granted, The rest (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon me with the point of the sword, nor urged with the injures of war; when I have already declared, that I cannot yield to them, without violating my Conscience: 'tis strange there can be no method of peace, but by making war upon my soul.

Here are many things required of me; but I see nothing offer'd to me by the way of grateful exchange of Honour, or any requitall for those favours I have or can yet grant them.

This honor they do me, to put me on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot ask more then I can give, may I but reserve to my selfe the incommunicable Jewel of my Conscience, and not be forced to part with that, whose losse nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleased to propound) seem unreasonable to me, and while I have any Mastery of my Reason; how can they think *I* can consent to them? Who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yielding so much as *I* have already, makes some men confident *I* will deny nothing.

The love *I* have of my Peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon me; but the love of truth and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken my outward state of a King, as wound that inward quiet of my conscience; which ought to be, is, and ever shall be [by Gods grace] dearer to me then my Kingdome.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and Policy are at some time to be denied, to some men, lest he should seem not to dare to deny any thing, and give too much encouragement to unreasonable demands or importunities.

But to binde my self to a generall and implicite consent, to whatever they shall desire or propound, (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a latitude of blind obedience as never was expected from any Freeman, nor fit to be required of any man, much lesse of a King by his own Subjects; any of whom he may possibly exceed as much in wisedome, as he do h in place and power.

This were as if *Samson* should have consented, not only to bind his own hands, and cut off his haire, but to put out his own eyes, that the Philistines might

might with the more safety mock and abuse him which they chose rather to do, then quite to destroy him, when he was become so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorne.

Certainly, to exclude all power of deniall, seems an arrogancy, least of all becoming those who pretend to make their addresses in an humble and loyall way of petitioning; who by that sufficiently confesse their own inferiority, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such an answer as the will and reason of their Superiour thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedome and power of reason to Consent and Dissent, else it were very foolish and absurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath he power to grant.

But if this be my Right belonging to me, in Reason as a *Man*, and in Honour as a Soveraigne King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be any other then extream injury, to confine my reason to a necessity of granting all they have a mind to ask; whose minds may be as differing from mine both in Reason and Honour, as their aims may be, and their qualities are; which last God and the Laws have sufficiently distinguisht, making me their Soveraign, & them my Subjects; whose Propositions may soon prove violent oppositions, if once they gain to be necessary impositions upon the Regall Authority. Since no man seeks to limit and confine his King in reason, who hath not a secret aime to share with him, or usurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have me trust to their moderation, and abandon mine own discretion; that so I might verifie what representations some have made of me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupill, then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of my own sufficiency, as not willingly to admit the

Counſell of others: But yet I am not ſo diffident of my ſelf, as brutiſhly to ſubmit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Soveraignty of Reaſon in my Soule, and the Majeſty of my own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Leaſt of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to ſubmit to all the deſires of thoſe men, who will not admit, or do refuſe, and neglect to vindicate the freedome of their own and others, ſitting and voting in Parliament.

Beſides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the moſt part of) theſe Propounders are; ſo that till experience of one ſeven years hath ſhewed me, how well they can governe themſelves, and ſo much power as is wreſted from me, I ſhould be very fooliſh indeed, and unfaithfull in my truſt, to put the reins of both Reaſon and Government wholly out of mine own into their hands, whoſe driving is already too much like *Jehu's*; and whoſe forwardneſſe to aſcend the Throne of Supremacy, pretends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phœbus*; God divert the Omen if it be his will.

They may remember that at beſt they ſit in Parliament as my Subjects, not my Superiours; called to be my Counſellors not Dictators: Their Summons extends to recommend their advice, not to command my duty.

When I firſt heard of Propoſitions to be ſent me, I expected either ſome good Laws which had been antiquated by the courſe of time, or overlaid by the corruption of manners, had been deſired to a reſtauration of their vigour and due execution, or ſome evill cuſtomes preterlegall and abuſes perſonall had been to be removed; or ſome injuries done by my ſelf and others to the Common weale were to be repaired: or ſome equable offertures were to be tendred to me; wherein the advantages of my Crown being

being considered by them, might fairly induce me to condescend to what tended to my Subjects good, without any great diminution of my self, whom Nature, Law, Reason and Religion bind me (in the first place) to preserve, without which tis impossible to preserve my People according to my place.

Or (at least) I looked for such moderate desires of due Reformation, of what was indeed amisse in Church and State, as might still preserve the foundation and essentials of Government in both; not shake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Lawes in force, the wisedome and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and universall practice of Christian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what must be destroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others institution, and also supply its pretended defects, reforme its abuses, and satisfie sober and wise men, not with soft and specious words, pretending zeal and speciall pietie, but with pregnant and solid reasons both divine and humane, which might justifie the abruptnesse and necessity of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propositions I can observe little of these kinds, or to these ends: Nothing of any Lawes disjoynted, which are to be restored; of any right invaded; of any justice to be un-obstructed; of any compensations to be made; of any impartiall reformation to be granted; to all, or any of which, Reason, Religion, true Policie, or any other humane motives, might induce me.

But as to the main matters propounded by them, at any time, in which is either great novelty, or difficulty. I perceive that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, & Schisms in the Church and so punishable by the Lawes, have now the confi-

dence, by vulgar clamours, and assistance (chiefly) to demand not only Tolerations of themselves, in their vanity, novelty and confusion; but also Abolition of the Lawes against them: and a totall extirpation of that Government, whose Rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the main; other Propositions are (for the most part) but as waste paper in which those are wrapped up to present them somewhat more handsomely.

Nor do I so much wonder at the variety, and horrible novelty of some Propositions, (there being nothing so monstrous, which some fancies are not prone to long for.)

This casts me into, not an admiration, but an extasie, how such things should have the fortun to be propounded in the name of the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgements, free, single, and apart, did approve or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remains in far the major part of both Houses, (if free, and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things; the institution and the corruption, the Government and the Mis-government, the Primitive patterns, and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon so little, or no Reason (as yet produced to the contrary) so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their reforming Progenitors, to the prosperity of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet by a strange fatality, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or supine cre-

credulity (believing that all is good, which is guilded with shewes of Zeal and Reformation) their private dissenting in judgement to be drawn into the common sewer or stream of the present vogue and humour; which hath its chief rise and abetment from those popular clamours and tumults, which served to give life and strength to the infinite activity of those men who studied with all diligence, and policy, to improve to their innovating designes, the present distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions having so little in my judgement, of Reason, Justice, and Religion on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise must not go alone, but ever be backt and seconded, with Armies of Souldiers: Though the second should prevail against my person, yet the first shall never overcome me, further then I see cause; for, I look not at their number and power so much, as I weigh their Reason and Justice.

Had the two Houses first sued out their Livery, and once effectually redeemed themselves from the wardship of the Tumults (which can be no other then the Hounds the that attend the cry, and hollow of those men, who hunt after Factions, and private Designes, to the ruine of Church and State)

Did my judgement tell me, that the Propositions sent to me were the Results of the Major parts of their Votes, who exercise their freedome, as well as they have a right to sit in Parliament: I should then suspect my own judgement, for not speedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charity enough to think, theere are wise men among them: and humility to think, that, as in some things I may want; so 'tis fit I should use their advise, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wisedome such a compleatnesse and inerrability as to exclude my self; since none of them hath that part to

Act, that Truſt to diſcharge, nor that Eſtate and Honour to preſerve as my ſelf; without whoſe Reaſon concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is neceſſary in all natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publike wiſdom, which makes the Laws.

But the unreaſonableneſſe of ſome Propoſitions is not more evident to me than this is, That they are not the joynt and free deſires of thoſe in their major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them ſavour very ſtrong of that old leaven of innovations, masked under the name of Reformation; (which in my two laſt famous Predeceſſours dayes, heaved at, and ſometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments:) But, I am ſure was never wont ſo far to infect the whole maſſe of the Nobility and Gentry of this kingdome; however it diſperſed among the Vulgar: nor was it likely ſo ſuddenly to taint the major part of both Houſes, as that they ſhould unanimouſly deſire, and effect ſo enormous and dangerous innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practiſe, and judgement.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choyce of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countries: ſome thirſting afret nothing more, then a paſſionate revenge of what ever diſpleaſure they had conceived againſt me, my Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reaſon bids me impute theſe ſudden and vaſt deſire of change to thoſe few who armed themſelves with the many-headded, and many-handed Tumults.

No leſſe doth Reaſon, Honour, and Safety both of Church and State command me, to chew ſuch morſels, before I let them down; if the ſtraightneſſe of my Conſcience will not give me leave to ſwallow downe

downe ſuch Camels, as others do of Sacriledge, and injuſtice both to God and man, they have no more cauſe to quarrel with me, than for this, that my throat is not ſo wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I am reſolved, That nothing of paſſion, or peeviſhnes, or luſt to contradict, or vanity to ſhew my negative power, ſhall have any byas upon my judgement to make me gratifie my will by denying any thing, which my Reaſon and Conſcience commands me no.

Nor on the other ſide, will I conſent to more then Reaſon, Juſtice, Honour, and Religion perſwadeth me, to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my own peace.

I will ſtudy to ſatisfie my Parliament, and my People; but I will never, for feare or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent ſoever; for this was to nouriſh the diſeaſe, and oppreſſe the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving me, that free, and faithful counſel, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder me from craving of the counſel of that mighty Counſellour, who can both ſugg ſt what is beſt, and incline my heart ſtedfaſtly to follow it.

O thou firſt and eternall Reaſon, whoſe wiſedome is fortified with Omnipotency, furniſh thy Servant, Firſt, with cleare diſcoveries of Truth, Reaſon and Juſtice in my underſtanding: then ſo confirme my Will and Reſolution to adhere to them, that no terrours, injuries or oppreſſions of my enemies may ever inforce me againſt thoſe rules, which thou by them haſt plained in my conſcience.

Thou never madeſt me a King that I ſhould be leſſe then a Man, and not dare to ſay yea or nay as I ſee cauſe; which freedome is not denyed to the meaneſt creature, that hath the uſe of Reaſon, and liberty of ſpeech.

Shall

Shall that be blameable in me, which is commendable veracity and constancy in others.

Thou seest O Lord, with what partiality and injustice they deny that freedome to me their KING, *which thou hast given to all men; and which themselves pertinaciously challenge to themselves; while they are so tender of the least breach of their priviledges.*

To thee I make my supplication, who canst guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed labyrinths of our own thoughts and other mens proposalt; which I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by my granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in those difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict me.

O Lord, make thy way plaine before me.

Let not my own sinfull passions cloud, or divert thy sacred suggestions.

Let thy glory be my end, thy word my rule; and then thy will be done.

I cannot please all, I care not to please some men; If I may be happy to please thee, I need not feare whom I displease.

Thou that makest the wisdome of the world foolishnes, and takest in their own devices, such as are wise in their own conceits, make me wise by thy Truth, for thy honour, my kingdoms generall good, and my own souls salvation, and I shall not much regard the worlds opinion, or diminution of me.

The lesse wisdom they are willing to impute to me, the more they shall be convinced of thy wisdom directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of cowardise, or humour; nor grant anything which is to be denied, out of any feare, or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to be guiltie, or unhappy, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designs, which are injurious to the publique good, while I confirm them by my assent.

Nor

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the publike of what is best, by any morose or perverse dissentings.

Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow their advise, when it appears to be for the publike good, of whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure me.

Thou canst as well blesse honest errours, as blast fraudulent councels.

Since we must give an account of every evill and idle word in private, at thy Tribunal; Lord make me carefull of those solemn declarations of my mind, which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publike, either for woe, or weale.

The lesse others consider what they ask, make me the more solicitous what I answer.

Though mine own, and my peoples pressures are grievous, and peace would be pleasing; yet Lord, never suffer me to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expense or wast of my Conscience; whereof thou O Lord only art deservedly more master then my selfe.

XII. *Upon the Rebellion, and troubles in* Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discern the rise, or apply a remedy to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that sea of blood which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any man in eternal both infamie and miserie, whom God shall find the malicious Authour or instigator of its effusion.

It fel out as a most unhappy advantage of some mens malice

malice againſt me; that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloody opportunity ſhould be offered them, with which I muſt be aſperſed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to me, being ſo full af ſinne againſt God, diſloyalty to my ſelf, and deſtructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed, that what the Iriſh Rebels did, was done with my privity (at leaſt) if not by my Commiſſion. But theſe knew too well, that it is no news for ſome of my Subjects to fight, not only without my Commiſſion, but againſt my Command, and Perſon too; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by my Authority, and for my Safety.

I would to God the *Iriſh* had nothing to alledge for their imitation againſt thoſe, whoſe blame muſt needs be the greater, by how much Proteſtant principles are more againſt all Rebellion againſt Princes, then thoſe of *Papiſts*. Nor will the goodneſſe of mens intentions excuſe the ſcandal and contagion of their Examples.

But who ever fail of their Duty toward me, I muſt to bear the blame: This honour, my Enemies have alwaies done me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to me; nor competent trials either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

Therefore with exquiſite malice they have mix'd the gall and vinegar of falſity and contempt, with the cup of my affliction; charging me not only with untruths, but ſuch, as wherein I have the greateſt ſhare of loſſe and diſhonour by what is committed; whereby (in all Policie, Reaſon, and Religion, having leaſt cauſe to give the leaſt conſent, and moſt grounds of utter deteſtation) I might be repreſented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like ſome Cyclopick monſter, whom nothing will ſerve to eat and drink, but the fleſh and blood of my Subjects; in

in whose common welfare my interest lies as much, as some mens doth in their perturbations: Who think they cannot do well, but in evil times; nor so cunningly, as in laying the *odium* of those sad events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And certainly, 'tis thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigour, and unreasonable severity, which some men carried before them in *England*, was not the least incentive, that kindled, and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparks of discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed fewel for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where despair being added to their former discontents, and the feares of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by some Principles of their Religion, and the naturall desires of liberty; both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and to prevent those after-rigours, wherewith they saw themselves apparently threatned, by the coverous zeal, and uncharitable fury of some men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with Truth wash my hands in innocencie, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; so I might wash them in my Tears, as the sad apprehensions I had, to see it spread so far, and make such waste. And this in a time, when distractions and jealousies here in *England*, made most men rather intent to their own safety, or designs they were driving, then to the relief of those, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whose teares and blood might, if nothing else, have quenched, or at least for a time represled and smothered those sparks of Civil dissentions and Jealousies, which in *England* some men most industriously scattered.

I would to God no man had been leſſe affected with *Irelands* ſad eſtate, then my ſelf. I offered to go my ſelf in perſon upon that expedition: But ſome men were either afraid I ſhould have any one Kingdom quieted; or loth they were to ſhoot at any mark here leſſe then my ſelf; or that any ſhould have the glory of my deſtruction, but themſelves Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the ruine had been ſo great, nor the calamity ſo long, nor the remedy ſo deſperate.

So that, next to the ſin of thoſe who began that Rebellion, theirs muſt needs be, who either hindred the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing of it by Domeſtick diſſentions, or diverted the Aides, or exaſperated the Rebels to the moſt deſperate reſolutions and actions, by threatning all extremities, not only to the known heads and chief incendiaries, but even to the whole communitie of that Nation; reſolving to deſtroy Root and Branch, men, women and children, without any regard to thoſe uſual pleas for mercy, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breaſts, in behalf of thoſe, whoſe oppreſſive faces, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whoſe imbecility for ſex and age was ſuch, as they could neither lift up a hand againſt them, nor diſtinguiſh between their right hand and their left: Which preposterous, and (I think) un-evangelical zeal, is too like that of the rebuked Diſciples, who would go no lower in their revenge, then to call for fire from heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulſe or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacobs* ſons, which the Father both blamed and curſed. Chuſing rather to uſe all extremities, which might drive men to deſperate obſtinacie, then to apply moderate remedies: ſuch as might puniſh ſome with exemplary juſtice, yet diſarm others, with tenders of mercy upon their ſubmiſſion, and our protection of them from the fury of thoſe,

who

who would ſoon drown them, if they refuſed to ſwim down the popular ſtream with them.

But ſome kind of Zeal counts all merciful moderation, lukewarmneſſe; and had rather be cruel then counted cold, and is not ſeldome more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harm he hath done. The confiſcation of mens eſtates being more beneficial, then the charity of ſaving their lives, or reforming their Errours.

When all proportionable ſuccours of the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland* (who were daily maſſacred, and overborn with numbers of now deſperate Enemies) was diverted and obſtructed here; I was earneſtly entreated, and generally adviſed by the chief of the Proteſtant party there, to get them ſome reſpite and breathing by a Ceſſation, without which they ſaw no probability (unleſſe by miracle) to preſerve the remnant that had yet eſcaped: God knowes with how much commiſeration and ſolicitous caution I carried on that buſineſſe, by perſons of honour and integrity, that ſo I might neither incourage the Rebels inſolence, nor diſcourage the Proteſtants loyaltie and patience.

Yet when this was effected in the beſt ſort, that the neceſſity and difficulty of affairs would then permit. I was then to ſuffer againe in my Reputation and Honour, becauſe I ſuffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Proteſtants there.

I thought, that in all reaſon, the gaining of that reſpite could not be ſo much to the Rebels advantages, (which ſome have highly calumniated againſt me) as it might have been for the Proteſtants future, as well as preſent ſafety: If during the time of that Ceſſation, ſome men had had the grace to have laid *Irelands* ſad condition more to heart; and laid aſide thoſe violent motions, which were here carried on

by

by thoſe, that had better skill to let blood then to ſtanch it.

But in all the miſconſtructions of my actions, (which are prone to find more credulity in men, to what is falſe and evill, then love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above me, ſo I can have comfort to appeal to his omniſcience, who doth not therefore deny my innocence, becauſe he is pleeaſed ſo farre to try my patience, as he did his ſervant *Job's*.

I have enough to do to look to my own conſcience, and the faithfull diſcharge of my truſt as a *King*; I have ſcarce leiſure to conſider thoſe ſwarmes of reproaches, which iſſue out of ſome mens mouths and hearts, as eaſily as ſmoke, or ſparks do out of a fornace; much leſſe to make ſuch prolix Apologies, as might give thoſe men ſatisfaction: who conſcious to their own depth of wickedneſſe, are loath to believe any man not to be as bad as themſelves.

'Tis Kingly to do well, and hear ill: If I can but act the one, I ſhall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God I can hear with patience, as bad as my worſt enemies can fainly ſay. And I hope I ſhall ſtill do better then they deſerve or deſire I ſhould.

I beleeve it will at laſt appear, that they who firſt began to embroyle my other Kingdomes are in great part guilty, if not of the firſt letting out, yet of the not timely ſtopping thoſe horrid effuſions of bloud in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever my enemies pleaſe to ſay or think) I look upon as that of my other Kingdoms, exhauſted out of my own veins; no man being ſo much weakned by it, as my ſelf; And I hope, though mens unſatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercy of God will at length ſay to his Juſtice, *It is enough*: and command the Sword of Civill Wars to ſheath it

ſelf;

ſelf; his merciſull juſtice intending, I truſt, not our utter confuſion, but our cure; the abatement of our ſinnes, not the deſolating of theſe Nations.

O my God, let theſe infinite mercies prevent us once again, which I and my Kingdoms have formerly abuſed, and can never deſerve ſhould be reſtored.

Thou ſeeſt how much cruelty among Chriſtians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Chriſtians, unleſſe we cruciſie one another.

Becauſe we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiſed in charity, thou haſt ſuffered a ſpirit of Errour and bitterneſſe, of mutual and mortal hatred to riſe among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have ſinned, and ſanctifie what we have ſuffered.

Let our Repentance be our recovery, as our great ſins have been our ruine.

Let not the miſeries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto ſuffered, ſeem ſmall to thee: but make our ſins appeare to our conſciences, as they are repreſented in the glaſſe of thy judgments; for thou never puniſheſt ſmall failings with ſo ſevere afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our ſinnes, and remove thy judgments which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our ſins be ever more grievous to us, than thy judgments; and make us more willing to repent, than to be relieved; firſt give us the peace of penitent conſciences, and then the tranquility of united Kingdoms.

In the ſea of our Saviours blood drown our ſins, and through this red ſea of our own blood bring us at laſt to a ſtate of Piety, Peace and Plenty.

As my publike relations to all, make me ſhare in all my Subjects ſuffering; ſo give me ſuch a pious ſenſe of them, as becomes a Chriſtian King, and a loving Father of my People.

Let

Let the ſcandalous and unjuſt reproaches caſt upon me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compaſſion: Give me grace to heap charitable coles of fire upon their heads to melt them, whoſe malice or cruel Zeal hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of thoſe flames, which have ſo much waſted my three Kingdoms.

O reſcue and aſſiſt thoſe poore Proteſtants in Ireland, *whom thou haſt hitherto preſerved.*

And lead thoſe in the wayes of thy ſaving Truths whoſe Ignorance or errours have filled them with rebellious and deſtructive principles which they act under an opinion that they do thee good ſervice.

Let the hand of thy juſtice be againſt thoſe, who maliciouſly and deſpitefully have raiſed, or fomented theſe cruel and deſperate warres.

Thou that art far from deſtroying the innocent with the guilty, and the erroneous with the malicious; thou that hadſt pity on Niniveh *for the many children that were therein, give not over the whole ſtock of that populous and ſeduced nation, to the wrath of thoſe whoſe covetouſneſſe makes them cruel; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore juſly curſed.*

Preſerve, if it be thy will, in the midſt of the furnace of thy ſevere juſtice, a poſterity which may praiſe thee for thy mercy.

And deale with me, not according to mans unjuſt reproaches, but according to the innocency of my Hands in thy ſight.

If I have deſired or delighted in the woefull day of my Kingdomes calamities, if I have not earneſtly ſtudied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and compoſing of theſe bloody diſtractions; then let thy Hand be againſt me, and my Fathers Houſe. O Lord, thou ſeeſt I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, ſo ſhould not dare this to imprecate thy curſe on me and mine, if my conſcience did not witneſſe my integrity, which thou, O Lord, knoweſt right well. But I truſt not to my own merit,

rit, but thy mercies; ſpare us, O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

XIII. *Vpon the calling in of the* Scots, *and their comming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not only common ties of Nature, Soveraignty and Bounty with my Father of bleſſed memory; but alſo ſpeciall and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active ſpirits among them ſo farre, that I ſeemed to many, to preferre the deſires of that party before my own Intereſt and Honour. But, I ſee, Royall bounty emboldens ſome men to ask, and act beyond all bounds of modeſty and gratitude.

My charity and act of Pacification, forbids me to reflect on former paſſages; wherein I ſhall ever be farre from letting any mans ingratitude or inconſtancy, make me repent of what I granted them for the publick good: I pray God it may be ſo.

The coming againe of that Party into *England*, with an Army, only to conforme this Church to their late new Modell cannot but ſeem as unreaſonable, as they would have thought the ſame meaſure offered from hence to themſelves.

Other errand I could never underſtand they had (beſides thoſe common and vulgar flouriſhes for Religion and Liberty) ſave only to confirme the Presbyterian Copy they had ſet, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloody characters.

Which deſigne and end whether it will juſtifie the uſe of ſuch violent means before the divine Juſtice, I leave to their conſciences to judge, who have already felt the miſery of the means, but not reaped the benifit of the end, either in this Kingdome or that?

Such

Such knots and crosnesse of graine being objected here, as will hardly suffer that Forme which they cry up, as the only just Reformation and setling of Government and Discipline in Churches, to go on so smooothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when so many of the *English* Clergy, through levity or discontent, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former engagements to Episcopacy, and faced about to their Presbytery.

It cannot but seem either passion, or some self-seeking more then true zeale and pious discretion, for any forraigne State or Church, to prescribe such medicines only for others, which themselves have used, rather successefully then commendably; not considering that the same Physick on different constitutions, will have different operations; That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any such tough and malignant humors in the constitution of the *English* Church, which gentler Applications then those of an Army, might not easily have removed: Nor is it so proper to hew our Religious Reformation by the Sword, as to polish them by fair and equell disputations among those that are concerned in the differences, whom not Force, but Reason ought to convince.

But their designe now, seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, then to procure a faire and equall one; For, it was concluded there, that the *English* Clergy must conforme to the *Scots* pattern, before ever they could be heard what they could say for themselves, or against the others way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with such violence: and for other mens consciences too, who can receive little satisfaction in these points which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, then Schol-

lars

lars disputing in free and learned Synods.

Surely in matters of Religion, those truths gaine most of mens judgements and consciences, which are least urged with secular violence which weakens truth with prejudices; and is unreasonable to be used, till such means of rationall conviction hath beene applied, as leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemns, mens obstinacy to deserved penalties.

Which no charity will easily suspect of so many learned and pious Church-men in *England*; who being alwayes bred up, and conformable to the Government of Episcopacie, cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion and practise, only because that Party of the *Scots* will needs, by force assist a like party here, either to drive all Ministers, as sheep into the common fold of Presbytery, or destroy them; at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbytery were approved to be the only Institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Governments; yet I believe it would be hard to prove that Christ had given these *Scots*, or any other of my subjects, commission by the sword to set it up in any of my kingdoms, without my consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles paied to the chief Governours of States, where they lived is very clear in the Gospel; but that he, or they ever commanded to set such a parity of Presbyters, and in such a way as those *Scots* endeavour; *I* think is not very disputable.

If Presbytery in such a Supremacy be an institution of Christ; sure it differs from all others: and is the first and onely point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian bloud; whose effusions runs in a streame so contrary to that of the Primitive planters, both of Christianity and Episcopacy, which was with patient shed-

ding of their own bloud, not violent drawing other mens: ſure there is too much of man in it, to have much of Chriſt, none of whoſe inſtitution were carried on, or begun with the temptation of covetouſneſſe or Ambition, of both which this is vehemently ſuſpected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which thoſe *Scots* had by Army or Commiſſioners to move me with, by their many Solemne obteſtations, and pious threatnings, but only this, to repreſent to me the wonderfull neceſſity of ſetting up their Preſbytery in *England* to avoid the further miſeries of a War; which ſome men chiefly on this deſigne at firſt had begun, and now further engaged themſelves, to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schiſmes or Hereſies, if they can get but numbers, ſtrength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and patterne, ſet up their wayes by the like methods of violence? all which Presbytery ſeeks to ſuppreſſe, and render odious unto their names: when wiſe and learned men think, that nothiug hath more marks of Schiſme and Sectariſme, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and ſtill moſt Univerſall way of the Church government, and eſpecially as to the particular Lawes and Coſtitutions of this *Engliſh* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for me, till I ſee more Rational and Religious motives, then Souldiers uſe to carry in their Knapſacks.

But we muſt leave the ſucceſſe of all to God, who hath many wayes, (having firſt taken us off from the folly of our opinions and fury of our paſſion) to teach us thoſe Rules of true Reaſon, and peaceable Wiſdome, which is from above, tending moſt to Gods glory, and his Churches good: which I think my ſelfe ſo much the more bound in Conſcience to attend with the moſt judicious zeal and care, by how

how much I esteem the Church above the State, the glory of Christ above mine own: and the salvation of mens souls above the preservation of their bodies and estates.

Nor may any men, I think, without sinne and presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches under my care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, and fashioned to their designs, till they have first gained my consent, and resolved, both my own and other mens consciences by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither manly, Christian, nor Loyall, shall never either shake or settle my Religion, nor any mans else who knows what Religion means: And how farre it is removed from all Faction, whose proper engine is force, the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much lesse of humble Christians, and loyall subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions: especially those, that have some temptation of gain, to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Scots* Armies coming in against my will, and their forfeiture of so many obligations of duty, and gratitude to me: then I wondred how those here, could so much distrust Gods assistance, who so much pretended Gods cause to the people, as if they had the certainty of some divine Revelations; considering they were more then competently furnished with My subjects Armes and Ammunition, my Navie by Sea, my Forts, Castles and Cities by Land.

But *I* finde that men jealous of the Justificablenesse of their doings, and designes before God, never think they have humane strength enough to carry

their work on, ſeem it never ſo plauſible to the People: What cannot be juſtified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet ſuch is the inconſtancie that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom ſome of them one while earneſtly invite to come in to their aſſiſtance, others of them ſoon after are weary of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: What one Party thought to rivet to a ſetledneſſe by the ſtrength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemns, at once deſpiſing the Kirk-Government and Diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the ſucceſſe of ſo chargeable, more then charitable aſſiſtance: For, ſure the Church of *England* might have purchaſed at a far cheaper rate, the Truth and happineſſe of Reformed Government and Diſcipline, (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendome for their advice in a full and free Synod, which I was ever willing to, and deſirous of, that matters being impartially ſetled, might be more ſatisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods juſtice, and mans folly, will at length be diſcovered, through all the films and pretentions of Religion, in which Polititians wrap up their deſigns: in vain do men hope to build their Piety on the ruines of Loyalty: nor can thoſe conſiderations or deſigns be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of ſetting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as my beſt Subjects of *Scotland* never deſerted me, ſo I cannot think that the moſt are gone ſo farre from me, in a prodigality of their love and reſpects towards me, as to make me to deſpair of their return; when beſides the bonds of Nature and Conſcience which they have to me, all Reaſon and true Policie will teach them, that their chiefeſt intereſt conſiſts in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their ſervile

viceableneſſe to any party of the people, to a neglect and betraying of my ſafety and honour for their own advantages: However the leſſe cauſe I have to truſt to men, the more I ſhall apply my ſelf to God.

The troubles of my Soule are inlarged, O Lord, bring thou me out of my diſtreſſe.

Lord, direct thy Servant in the wayes of that pious ſimplicity, which is the beſt policy.

Deliver me from the combined ſtrength of thoſe, who have ſo much of the Serpents ſubtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

Though hand joyne in hand, yet let them not prevaile againſt my Soule, to the betraying of my Conſcience, and Honour.

Thou, O Lord, canſt turne the heart of thoſe Parties in both Nations, as thou didſt the men of Judah *and* Iſrael, *to reſtore* David *with as much loyall zeal, as they did with inconſtancy and eagerneſſe perſue Him.*

Preſerve the love of thy Truth, and uprightneſſe in Me, and I ſhall not deſpaire of My Subjects affections returning towards Me.

Thou canſt ſoon cauſe the over-flowing ſeas to ebbe, and retire back again to the bounds which thou haſt appointed for them.

O my God, I truſt in thee, let me not be aſhamed: let not my enemies triumph over me.

Let them be aſhamed who tranſgreſſe without a cauſe: let them be turned back that perſecute my Soule,

Let integrity and uprightneſſe preſerve me: for I wait on thee: O Lord.

Redeeme thy Church, O God, out of all its troubles.

XIV. *Upon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at inordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will the

duce them to ingage, till thoſe that call them in, have pawned their Souls to them, by a Solemne League and Covenant.

Where many engines of religious and faire pretentions are brought chiefly to batter, or raſe Epiſcopacy: This they make the grand evill ſpirit, which with ſome other imps purpoſely added: to make it more odious and terrible to the vulgar, muſt by ſo ſolemne a charme and exorciſme be caſt out of this Church, after more then a thouſand years poſſeſſion here, from the firſt plantation of Chriſtianity in this Iſland, and an univerſall preſcription of time and practice in all other Churches ſince the Apoſtles times in this till Century.

But no Antiquity muſt plead for it; Presbytery, like a young Heire, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to bein the Biſhops Chaire and Authority, (though Lay-men go away with the Revenues,) all art is uſed to ſink Epiſcopacy, and lanch Presbytery in *England*: which was lately boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unſatisfied with many Paſſages in that Covenant (ſome referring to my ſelfe with very dubious & dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the deſign and drift touching the Diſcipline & Government of the Church; and ſuch a manner of carrying them on to new ways, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no leſſe then ſwearing for, or againſt thoſe things which are of no clear morall neceſſity, but very diſputable, and controverted amongſt learned and godly men: whereto the application of oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgement, and certainty in one ſelf, or that charity & candour to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires, which never refuſes fair and equable deliberations; yea, and diſſentings too, in matters only probable. The

The enjoyning of Oaths upon People must needs in things doubtfull be dangerous, as in things unlawfull, damnable: and no lesse superfluous, where former religious and legal Engagement, bound men sufficiently, to all necessary duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former Protestation which was so lately taken, to maintain the Religion established in the Church of *England*: since they count Discipline so great a part of Religion.

But ambitious minds never think they have laid snares and ginnes enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for by such politick and seemingly pious stratagems, they think to keep the popularity fast to their parties under the terrour of perjury: Whereas certainly all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegience, and Laws, to God and man.

Nor can such after-contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared Party, without My consent, and without any like power or president from Gods or mans laws, be ever thought by judicious men sufficient either to absolve or slacken those morall and eternall bonds of duty which lie upon all my Subjects consciences both to God and me.

Yet as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or me, by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawfull wayes; since I have the charity to thinke that the cheife end of the Covenant in such mens intentions, was to preserve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms in peace: To other then such ends and meanes they cannot think themselves engaged; nor will those, that have any true touches of conscience endeavour to carry on the best designes. (much lesse such as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawfull meanes, under that title of the Covenant: unlesse they

dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous & un-authorized novelties, before their known & ſworn duties, which are indiſpenſable both to God and my Self.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many who took the Covenant are yet firme to this Judgement, That ſuch later Vowes, Oaths or Leagues, can never blot out thoſe former gravings and characters, which by juſt and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Souls.

That which makes ſuch Confederations by way of ſolemne Leagues and Covenants more to be ſuſpected, is, That they are the common road, uſed in all factious and powerfull perturbations of State or Church: when formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety, are never more ſtudied & elaborate, then, when Politicians moſt agitate deſperate deſignes againſt all that is ſetled, or ſacred in Religion, and Laws, which by ſuch ſcrues are cunningly, yet forcibly wreſted by ſecret ſteps, and leſſe ſenſible degrees, from thein known rule and wonted practice, to comply with the humors of thoſe men, who aime to ſubdue all to their own will and power, under the diſguiſes of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and withes will hold mens Conſciences no longer then force attends and twiſts them; for every man ſoon growes his owne Pope, and eaſily abſolves himſelfe of thoſe ties, which, not the Commands of Gods Word, or the Laws of the Land, but only the ſubtilty and terrour of a Party caſts upon him; either ſuperfluous and vain, when they were ſufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by ſuch after-ligaments they find the Impoſers really aiming to diſſolve or ſuſpend their former, juſt, and neceſſary obligations.

Indeed ſuch illegall ways ſeldome or never intend the engaging men more to duties, but only to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their

Covenants

Covenants in point of piety pretened, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Designe intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and relish, who will but swallow it: They admit any mens senses of it, the diverse or contrary; with any salvoes, cautions and reservations, so as they cause not their, though chiefe Designe, which is laid against the Church and me.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a seeming increase to their Party: so little do men remember that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense, I beleeve many that love me and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to act clearly against both all piety and loyalty; who first yielded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it, then for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of some generall Clauses, may (perhaps) somewhat to relieve them, as of *doing and indeavouring what lawfully they may, in their Places and Callings, according to the word of God*: for, these indeed carry no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience, which are certain and fixed, either in Gods Laws, as to the generall: or the Laws of the State and Kingdome, as to the particular regulation and exercise of mens duties.

I would to God such as glory most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within those lawfull bounds to which God hath called them; Surely it were the best way to expiate the rashnes of taking it: which must needs then appear, when, besides

ſides the want of a full and lawfull Authority at firſt to enjoyn it, it ſhall actually be carried on beyond and againſt thoſe ends which were in it ſpecified and pretended. I willingly forgive ſuch mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within ſuch bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyaltie, as can neither hurt either the Church, my Self, or the publick Peace: Againſt which, no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it juſt or comely, that by the partiall advice of a few Divines, (of ſo ſoft and ſervile tempers, as diſpoſed them to ſo ſudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former judgement, profeſſion and practice) ſuch foul ſcandals and ſuſpicions ſhould be caſt upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deſerved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of Learning and Candor at home: all whoſe judgements I cannot but prefer before any mens now factiouſly engaged.

No man can be more forward then my ſelf to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgement, and a good conſcience, in what thing, I ſhall (after impartiall advice) be, by Gods Word, and right reaſon, convinced to be amiſſe, I have offered more then ever the fulleſt, freeſt, and wiſeſt Parliaments did deſire.

But the ſequele of ſome mens actions makes it evident, that the maine Reformation intended, is the abaſing of Epiſcopacie into Presbyterie, and the robbing of the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriouſly uſed, as to their Legal Rights, then the Biſhops, and Church men. Theſe, as the fatteſt Deare, muſt be deſtroyed: the other

other Raſcal-herd of Schiſmes, Hereſies, &c. being leane, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's* vineyard made him the only Blaſphemer of his City, and fit to die. Still I ſee, while the breath of Religion fils the Sailes, Profit is the Compaſſe, by which factious men ſteere their courſe in all ſeditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no men lay more open to the ſacrilegious temptation of uſurping the Churches, Lands and Revenues, (which iſſuing chiefly from the Crown, as held of it, and legally can revert only to the Crown with my Conſent) ſo I have alwayes had ſuch a perfect abhorrence of it in my Soul, that I never found the leaſt inclination to ſuch ſacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater deſire to have Biſhops and all Church-men ſo reformed, that they may beſt deſerve and uſe, not only what the pious munificence of my Predeceſſors hath given to God & the Church, but all other additions of Chriſtian bounty.

But no neeſſity ſhall ever, I hope, drive me or mine to invade or ſell the Prieſts lands, which both *Pharaoh's* Divinity, and *Joſephs* true piety abhorred to do: So unjuſt I think it both in the eye of reaſon and Religion, to deprive the moſt ſacred employment of all due incouragements; and like that other hard hearted *Pharaoh*, to with-draw the Straw, and encreaſe the task; ſo purſuing the oppreſſed Church, as ſome have done, to the red ſea of Civil War, where nothing but a miracle can ſave either it or him, who eſteems it his greateſt title to be called, and his chiefeſt glory to be *the Defender of the Church, both in its true faith, and its juſt fruitions; equally abhorring Sacriledge and Apoſtacy.*

I had rather live as my Predeceſſor *Henry* 3. ſometime did, on the Churches Almes, then violently to take

take the bread out of the Biſhops & Miniſters mouths

The next work will be *Jeroboam's* reformation, conſecrating the meaneſt of the People to be Prieſts in *Iſrael*, to ſerve thoſe Golden Calves who have enriched themſelves with the Churches Patrimony and Dowry; which how it thrived both with Prince, Prieſts, and People, is well enough known: And ſo it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queenes, which have been nurſing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it ſhall be at their allowance, who have already diſcovered what hard Fathers and Step-mothers they will be.

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the Plenty of *England* cannot excuſe the envy and Rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot ſo much as pray to God to prevent thoſe ſad conſequences, which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty of *Miniſters*, both in Church and State; Since I think it no leſſe then a mocking and tempting of God, to deſire him to hinder thoſe miſchiefs whoſe occaſions and remedies are in our owne power; it being every mans ſin not to avoid the one, and not uſe the other.

There are wayes enough to repaire the breaches of the State without the Ruine of the Church; as I would be a Reſtorer of the one, ſo I would not be an Oppreſſour of the other, under the pretence of Publique Debts: The occaſions contracting them were bad enough, but ſuch a diſcharging of them would be much worſe; *I* pray God neither I, nor Mine, may be acceſſary to either.

To thee, O Lord, I do addreſſe my Prayer, beſeeching thee to pardon the raſhneſſe of my Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their ſenſe and obſervation of thoſe juſt, moral, and indiſpenſable bonds, which thy Word, and the Lawes of this Kingdome have laid upon their Conſcien-

ces:

ces; From which no Pretensions of Piety and Reformation are sufficient to absolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practices.

Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can be Religious.

Thou alloweſt no mans committing Sacriledge under the zeale of abhorring idols.

Suffer not Sacrilegious designes to have the countenance of religious tyes.

Thou haſt taught us by the wiſeſt of Kings, that it is a ſnare to take things that are holy, and after Vowes to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy Servant from conſenting to perjurious and Sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curſe to all Poſterity of robbing thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though my Treaſures are exhauſted, my Revenues diminiſhed, and my debts increaſed; yet never ſuffer me to be tempted to uſe ſuch profane Reparations: leſt a coal from thine Altar ſet ſuch a fire on my Throne and conſcience as will hardly be quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publick, which ſome mens folly and Prodigality hath contracted, be an occaſion to impoveriſh thy Church.

The State may ſoon recover, by thy bleſſing of peace upon us: The Church is never likely, in times where the charity of moſt men is grown ſo cold, and their Religion ſo illiberall.

Continue to thoſe that ſerve thee and thy Church all thoſe encouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the Juſtice of the Laws are due unto them: and give them grace to deſerve and uſe them aright to thy glory the relief of the poore: That thy Prieſts may be clothed with righteouſneſſe, and the poore may be ſatisfied with bread.

Let

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches bread to Dogs: rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them nor theirs; Let them be as Naboth's *Vineyard to* Ahab, *gall in their mouths, rottennesse to their names, a moth to their families, and a sting to their Consciences.*

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations, to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandyed together against the Church and State, that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favour my righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee the most High, I may never miscarry.

XV. *Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the King, to stirre up the People against Him.*

IF I had not my own Innocencie, and Gods protection, it were hard for me to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Falsities seek to oppresse the Truth, and by Jealousies to supply the defect of Real causes, which might seem to justifie so unjust Engagements against me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostility come short of these Designes: For, I can more willingly lose my Crowns, then my Credit; nor are my Kingdomes so deare to me, as my Reputation and Honour.

Those must have a period with my life; but these may survive to a glorious kind of immortality, when I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an eternity of love, and gratitude among posterity.

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Those foul and falſe aſperſions were ſecret engines at firſt employed againſt my Peoples love of me: that undermining their opinion and value of me, my enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their Loyaltie.

Wherein yet, I thank God, the dettiment of my Honour is not ſo afflictive to me, as the ſin and danger of my Peoples ſoules, whoſe eyes once blinded with ſuch miſts of ſuſpitions, they are ſoon miſ-led into the moſt deſperate precipies of actions: wherein they do not only not conſider their ſin and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them ſo fit to be deſtroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of my Deſtroyers; imagining they then fear God moſt, when they leaſt honour their King.

I thank God, I never found but my pity was above my anger; nor have my paſſions ever ſo prevailed againſt me, as to exclude my moſt compaſſionate prayers for them, whom devout errours more then their own malice, have betrayed to a moſt Religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that moſt part of my Subjects fought againſt my ſuppoſed Errors, not my Perſon; and intended to mend me, not to end me: And I hope that God, pardoning their errours, hath ſo far accepted and anſwered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preſerved me, ſo he hath by theſe afflictions prepared me, both to do him better ſervice, and my People more good, then hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their ſeductions, which occaſioned their loyal injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjuſt ſuſpicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conſcious to my own Affections to-

ward

ward the generality of my people, to ſuſpect theirs to me: nor ſhall the malice of my Enemies ever be able to deprive me of the comfort, which that confidence gives me: I ſhall never gratifie the ſpightfulneſſe of a few, with any ſiniſter thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious fraud have ſeduced.

The worſt ſome mens ambition can do, ſhall never perſwade me to make ſo bad interpretations of moſt of my Subjects actions: who poſſibly may be Erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyaltie.

The ſenſe of the injuries done to my Subjects, is as ſharp as thoſe done to my ſelf, our welfares being inſeparable: in this only they ſuffer more then my ſelf, that they are animated by ſome ſeducers to injure at once both themſelves and me.

For this is not enough to the malice of my enemies, that I be afflicted: but it muſt be done by ſuch inſtruments, that my afflictions grieve me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by thoſe, whoſe proſperity *I* earneſtly deſire, and whoſe ſeduction *I* heartily deplore.

If they had been my open and forraigne Enemies, I could have born it: but they muſt be my own Subjects, who are, next to my Children, dear to me: And for the reſtoring of whoſe tranquility, I could willingly be the *Jonah*; if I did not evidently foreſee, that by the divided intereſts of their & mine enemies, as by contrary winds, the ſtorm of their miſeries would be rather increaſed then allayed.

I had rather prevent my Peoples ruine, then Rule over them: nor am I ſo ambitious of that Dominion which is but my Right, as of their happineſſe: if it could expiate or countervail ſuch a way of obtaining it, by the higheſt injuries of Subjects committed againſt their Soveraign.

Yet I had rather ſuffer all the miſeries of life, and die many deaths, then ſhamefully to deſert, or diſ-

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dishonourably to betray my own just Rights and Soveraignty, thereby to gratifie the ambition, or justifie the malice of my Enemies; between whose malice, and other mens mistakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague, and the Plague; or the Itch of Noveltie, and the Leprosie of Disloyaltie.

As Liars had need of good memories, so Malicious persons need good inventions, that their calumnies may fit every mans fancie; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew.

My patience (I thank God) will better serve me to bear, and my charity to forgive, then my leisure to answer the many false Aspersions which some men have cast upon me.

Did I not more consider my Subjects satisfaction, then my own vindication; I should never have given the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see me take notice of, or remember what they say or object.

I would leave the Authors to be punished by their own evil manners, and feared Consciences, which will (I believe) in a shorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and false Scandals which they have cast on me: And make the world see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or Civility (I need not say Loyalty) in the not suppressing of them: whose credit and reputation, even with the people, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of that same fornace of popular obliquie and detraction, which they have studied to heate and inflame to the highest degree of infamy, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume my Name and Honour.

First, nothing gave me more cause to suspect,

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and ſearch my own innocency, then when I obſerved ſo many forward to engage againſt me, who had made great profeſſions of ſingular pietie: For this gave to vulgar minds ſo bad a redection upon me, and my Cauſe, as if it had been impoſſible to adhere to me, and not withall part from God; to think or ſpeak well of me, and not to blaſpheme him: ſo many were perſwaded that theſe two were utterly inconſiſtent, to be at once Loyal to Me, and truly Religious towards God.

Not but that I had (*I* thank God) many with me, which were both Learned & Religious, (much above that ordinary ſize, and that vulgar proportion, wherein ſome men glory ſo much) who were ſo well ſatiſfied in the cauſe of my ſufferings, that they choſe rather to ſuffer with me, then forſake me.

Nor is it ſtrange that ſo Religious pretenſions as were uſed againſt me, ſhould be to many wel-minded men a great temptation to oppoſe me; eſpecially being urged by ſuch popular Preachers, as think it no ſin to lie for God, and what they pleaſe to call Gods Cauſe, curſing all that will not curſe with them; looking ſo much at, and crying up the goodneſſe of the end propounded, that they conſider not the lawfulneſs of the means uſed, nor the depth of the miſchief chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakneſſe of theſe mens judgements muſt be made up by their clamours and activity.

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion, to ſcandalize me and mine: they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not down mine as falſe.

J thank God, J have had more trial of his grace, as to the conſtancie of my Religion in the Proteſtant profeſſion of the Church of *England*, both abroad and at home, then ever they are like to have.

Nor do *I* know any exception I am ſo liable to in their opinion, as too great a fixedneſſe in that Religion

Religion, whose judicious and solid grounds, both from Scripture and Antiquity, will not give my Conscience leave to approve or consent to those many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of some men would needs obtrude upon me and my People.

Contrary to those wel-tried foundations both of Truth and Order, which men of farre greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have setled in the Confession and Constitution of this Church in *England*, which many former Parliaments in the most calm and unpassionate times, have oft confirmed; in which I shall ever, by Gods help, persevere, as believing it, hath most of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did my using the assistance of some Papists, which were my Subjects, any way fight against my Religion, as some men would needs interpret it: especially those who least of all men cared whom they employed, or what they said and did, so they might prevaile.

Tis strange that so wise men, as they would be esteemed, should not conceive, That differences of perswasion in matters of Religion may easily fall out, where there is the sameneſſe of duty, Allegiance and subjection. The first they own as men and Christians to God; the second they owe to me in common, as their KING; different Professions in point of Religion cannot any more (then in Civill trades,) take away the communitie of relations either to Parents or to Princes: And where is there such an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the world againe, as those men entertain in their service, (who finde most fault with me,) without any scruple, as to the diversity of their Sects and Opinions?

It was indeed a foul and indelible shame, for such as would be counted Protestants to enforce me, a declared

declared Proteſtant, their Lord and King, to a neceſſary uſe of Papiſts or any other, who did but their duty to help me to defend my ſelf.

Nor did I more then is lawfull for any King, in ſuch exigents to uſe the aid of any of his ſubjects.

I am ſorry the Papiſts ſhould have a greater ſenſe of their Allegiance then many Proteſtant Profeſſors, who ſeem to have learned, and to practiſe the worſt Principles of the worſt Papiſts.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unſeaſonable ſcruple in me, (and very pleaſing no doubt to my Enemies) to have beene then diſputing the points of different beliefs in my ſubjects, when I was diſputed with by ſwords points: and when I needed the help of my ſubjects, as men, no leſſe then their prayers, as Chriſtians.

The noiſe of my evil Counſellors was another uſefull device for thoſe, who were impatient any mens counſels but their own, ſhould be followed in Church or State who were ſo eager in giving me better counſel, that they would not give me leave to take it with freedom, as a man; or honour, as a King; making their counſels more like a drench that muſt be powred down, then a draught which might be fairly and leaſurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not juſtifie beyond humane errours and frailties my ſelf, or my Counſellors: They might be ſubject to ſome miſcarriages, yet ſuch as were farre more reparable by ſecond and better thoughts, then thoſe enormous extravagancies, wherwith ſome have now even wildred, and almoſt quite loſt both Church and State.

The event of things at laſt will make it evident to my ſubjects, that had *I* followed the worſt Counſels that my worſt Counſellors ever had the boldneſſe to offer to me, or my ſelf any inclination to uſe; I could

could not ſo ſoon have brought both Church and State in three flouriſhing kingdoms to ſuch a *Chaos* of confuſions, and Hell of miſeries, as ſome have done; out of which they cannot, or will not in the midſt of their many great advantages, redeem either me or my ſubjects.

No men were more willing to complain, then I was to redres what I ſaw in reaſon was either done or adviſed amiſſe; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were ſorry to ſee me prone even to injure my ſelf; out of a zeal to relieve my ſubjects.

But other mens inſatiable deſire of revenge upon me, my Court, and my Clergy; hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all my, either Retractations or Conceſſions; and withall, hath deprived all thoſe (now ſo zealous Perſecutors) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended perſecutions, wherein they ſo much gloried among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Chriſtian will ſo highly prize, as rather not be relieved, then be revenged, ſo as to be bereaved of that Crown of chriſtian patience, who attends humble and injured ſufferers

Another artifice uſed to with-draw my peoples affections from me, to their deſignes, was, The noiſe and oſtentation of Liberty, which men are not more prone to deſire, then unapt to bear in the popular ſenſe; which is to do what every man liketh beſt.

If the Divineſt Liberty bee to will what men ſhould, and do what they ſo will, according to Reaſon, Lawes, and Religion; I envy not my ſubjects that Liberty, which is all I deſire to enjoy my ſelfe; ſo farre am I from the deſire of oppreſſing theirs: Nor were thoſe Lords and Gentlemen which aſſiſted me, ſo prodigall of their Liberties, as with their

Lives

Lives and Fortunes to help on the enſlaving of themſelves and their poſterities.

As to Civil immunities, none but ſuch as deſire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous deſigns over the ruines of the Church and State, Prince, Peeres, and People, will ever deſire greater Freedomes then the Laws allow; whoſe bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection; others, their Manacles and Oppreſſion.

Nor is it juſt any man ſhould expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who deſpiſeth his rule and direction; loſing juſtly his ſafety, whiles he ſeeks an unreaſonable liberty.

Time will beſt inform my Subjects, that thoſe are the beſt preſervers of their true liberties, who allow themſelves the leaſt licentiouſnes againſt, or beyond the Lawes.

They will feel it at laſt to their coſt, that it is impoſſible thoſe men ſhould be really tender of their fellow-ſubjects liberties, who have the hardineſſe to uſe their King with ſo ſevere reſtraints, againſt all Laws bote divine and humane: under which yet I will rather periſh, then complain to thoſe, who want nothing to complete their mirth and triumph, but ſuch muſick.

In point of true conſcientious tenderneſſe (attended with humility and meekneſſe, not with proud and arrogant activity, which ſeeks to hatch every egg of different opinion to a Faction or Schiſme) I have oft declared, how little I deſire my Laws and Scepter ſhould intrench on Gods Soveraignty, which is the only King of mens Conſciences: and yet he hath laid ſuch reſtraints upon men, as commands them to be ſubject for Conſcience ſake, giving no men liberty to break the Law eſtabliſhed, further then with meekneſſe and patience they are content to ſuffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publike peace.

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The truth is, ſome mens thirſt after Noveltie, others deſpair to relieve the neceſſities of their Fortunes, or ſatisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (diſtruſting Gods providence, as well as their own merits,) were the ſecret (but principal) impulſives to theſe popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perſwaded to expend much of thoſe plentifull Eſtates they got, and enjoyed under my Government, in peaceable times: which yet muſt now be blaſted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent: and my Self expoſed to all thoſe cohtempts which may moſt diminiſh the Majeſty of a King, and encreaſe the ungratefull inſolencies of my People.

For mine Honour, I am well aſſured, that as mine Innocency is cleare before God, in point of any calumnies they object: ſo my reputation ſhall like the Sun, (after Owles and Bats have had their freedome in the night and darker times) riſe and recover it ſelfe to ſuch a degree of ſplendour, as thoſe fetall birds ſhall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious then thoſe whom God hath ſuffer'd to be tried in the furnace of afflictions, by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the juſt and mercifull God will do me good, for ſome mens hard, falſe and evill ſpeeches againſt me; wherein they ſpeak rather what they wiſh, then what they beleeve or know.

Nor can I ſuffer ſo much in point of Honour, by thoſe rude and ſcandalous Pamphlets, (which like fire in great conflagrations flie up and down to ſet all places on like flames,) then thoſe men do, who, pretending to ſo much piety, are ſo forgetfull of their duty to God and me: by no way ever vindicating the Majeſty of their KING againſt any of thoſe, who contrary to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *ſpeak evill of Dignities*, *and bring*

bring railing accusations against those, who are honored with the Name of *Gods*.

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing *God*, should not honour their *King*.

They will easily contemn such shadowes of God, who reverence not that Supreme and adorable Majesty, in comparison of whom all the glory of Men and Angels is but obscurity: yet hath he graven such characters of Divine authority and Sacred power upon Kings, as none may without sinne seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black veiles be able to hide the shining of my face, while God gives me a heart frequently and humbly to converse with him, from whom alone are all the Traditions of true Glory and Majesty.

Thou, O Lord, knowest my reproach, and my dishonour, My adversaries are all before thee.

My soule is among Lions, among them that are set on fire, even the Sons of Men, whose teeth are speares and arrowes, their tongue a sharp sword.

Mine enemies reproach me all the day long, and those that are mad against me are sworne together.

O my God, how long shall the sons of men turn my glory into shame? How long shall they love vanity, and seek after lies?

Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on every side. Hold not thy peace, lest my enemies prevaile against me, and lay my Honour in the dust.

Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies; the Lord will abhor both the blood-thirsty & deceitful man.

Make my righteousnesse to appeare as the light, and mine innocency to shine forth as the Sun at noon-day.

Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocence; nor my displeasure, my patience: That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again; and being cursed by them, I may blesse them.

Then

Thou that wouldſt not ſuffer Shimei's *tongue to go unpuniſhed; when by thy judgment on* David *he might ſeem to juſtifie his diſdainfull reproſches, give Me grace to intercede with thy mercy for theſe my enemies, that the reward of falſe and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternall fire may not be brought upon them.*

Let My prayers and patience be as water to coole and quench their tongues, who are already ſet on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with thoſe malicious flames.

Let Me be happy to Refute and put to ſilence their evill-ſpeaking by well doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of My prayer for their repentance and thy pardon.

Teach Me David's *patience, and* Hezekiah's *devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and ſee thy juſtice in their ſin.*

Let Sheba's *ſeditious ſpeeches,* [Rabſhekah's *railing, and* Shimei's *curſing, provoke, as my humble prayer to thee, ſo thy renewed bleſſing toward Me.*

Though they curſe, doe thou bleſſe, and I ſhall be bleſſed, and made a bleſſing to my people.

That the ſtone, which ſome builders refuſe, may become the head ſtone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and ſave Me, from the reproach of them that would ſwallow me up.

Hide me in the ſecret of thy preſence, from the pride of man, and keep Me from the ſtrife of tongues.

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16. *Upon the Ordinance againſt the Comon-Prayer-Book.*

IT is no newes to have all Innovations uſhered in with the name of Reformations in Church and State, by thoſe, who ſeeking to gaine reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts and piety, muſt needs undoe what ever

was formerly ſetled never ſo well and wiſely.

So hardly can the pride of thoſe that ſtudy Novelties, allow former times any ſhare or degree of wiſdom or godlineſſe.

And becauſe matter of prayer and devotion to God juſtly bears a great part in Religion, (being the Souls more immediate converſe with the divine Majeſty) nothing could be more plauſible to the People then to tell them, They ſerved God amiſs in that point.

Hence our publick Liturgy, or Formes of conſtant Prayers muſt be (not amended, in what upon free and publick advice might ſeem to ſober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I ſhould eaſily conſent, but) wholly caſhiered and aboliſhed, and after many popular contempts offered to the Book, and thoſe that uſed it according to their Conſciences, and the Laws in force, it muſt be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to pleaſe either thoſe men, who gloried in their extemporary vein and fluency: or others, who conſcious to their own formality in the uſe of it, thought they fully expiated their ſin of not uſing it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a total rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuſe the deadneſs of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, ſober and learned men have ſufficiently vindicated it againſt the cavils and exceptions of thoſe, who thought it a part of piety to make what profane objection they could againſt it, eſpecially for Popery and Superſtition; whereas no doubt the Liturgie was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this by all reformed Churches is confeſſed to be moſt ſound and Orthodox.

For the manner of uſing Set and preſcribed Formes, there is no doubt but that wholſome words being known and fitted to mens underſtandings, are

ſooneſt

ſooneſt received into their hearts, and apteſt to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I ſee any reaſon why Chriſtians ſhould be weary of a wel-compos'd Liturgy, (as I hold this to be) more then of all other things, wherein the Conſtancy abates nothing of the excellency and uſefulneſs.

I could never ſee any reaſon why any Chriſtian ſhould abhor, or be forbidden to uſe the ſame Forms of prayer, ſince he prayes to the ſame God, believes in the ſame Savior, profeſſeth the ſame truths, reads the ſame Scriptures, hath the ſame duties upon him, and feels the ſame daily wants for the moſt part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well before-hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what ſenſe; when we deſire the ſame things, what hinders we may not uſe the ſame words? our appetite and diſgeſtion too may be good when we uſe, as we pray, *our daily bread.*

Some men, I hear, are ſo impatient not to uſe in all their devotions their owne invention and gifts, that they not only diſuſe (as too many) but wholly caſt away and contemn the Lords Prayer; whoſe great guilt is, that it is the warrant and originall pattern of all ſet Liturgies in the Chriſtian Church.

I ever thought that the proud oſtentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of variety for expreſſions, or in Publick prayer, or in any ſacred adminiſtrations, merits a greater brand of ſin, then that which they call Coldneſs and Barrenneſs: nor are men in thoſe novelties leſſe ſubject to formall and ſuperficiall tempers (as to their hearts) then in the uſe of conſtant Formes, where not the words, but mens hearts are to blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formall in the moſt extemporary variety; and very ſervently devout in the moſt wonted expreſſions: Nor is God more a God of variety, then of conſtancy: Nor are conſtant Forms of Prayer more likely to ſtat and hinder the ſpirit of Prayer and Devotion, then unpremeditated and confuſed variety to diſtract and loſe it.

Though I am not againſt a grave modeſt, diſcreet and humble uſe of Miniſtere gifts, even in Publick, the better to fit and excite their own and the Peoples affections to the preſent occaſions: yet I know no neceſſity why private and ſingle abilities ſhould quite juſtle out and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurent gifts of many learned and godly men, ſuch as the compoſers of the Service-Book were: who may in all reaſon be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling them to compoſe, with ſerious deliberation and concurrent advice, ſuch Forms of Prayers as may beſt fit the Churches common wants, inform the hearers underſtanding, and ſtir up that fiduciary and fervent application of their ſpirits (wherein conſiſts the very life and ſoul of Prayer, and that ſo much pretended Spirit of Prayer) that any private man by his ſolitary abilities can be preſumed to have: which, that they are many times (even there, where they make a great noiſe and ſhew) the affectations, emptineſs, impertinencie, rudeneſſe, confuſions, flatneſs, levitie, obſcurity, vain and ridiculous repetitions, the ſenſeleſs, and oft times blaſphemous expreſſions (all theſe burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable lenghth) do ſufficiently convince all men, but thoſe who glory in that Phariſaick way.

Wherein men muſt be ſtrangely impudent, and flatterers of themſelves, not to have an impudent ſhame of what they ſo do and ſay in things of ſo ſacred

cred a nature, before God and the Church, after so ridiculous, and indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramental administrations, and the like, which are still the same, Ministers must either come to use their own forms constantly, which are not like to be so sound, or comprehensive of the nature of the duty as Forms of publick composure: or else they must every time affect new expressions, when the subject is the same: which can hardly be presumed in any mans greatest sufficiencies not to want (many times) much of that compleatnesse, order, and gravity becoming those duties: which by this means are exposed at every celebration to every Ministers private infirmities, indispositions, errors, disorders and defects, both for judgment and expression.

A serious sense of which inconvenience in the Church, unavoidably following every mans severall manner of officiating, no doubt, first occasioned the wisdom and piety of the ancient Churches to remedie those mischiefs, by the use of constant Liturgies of Publick composure.

The want of which, I beleeve this Church will sufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens ungoverned ignorance, and confident defects, shall be discovered in more errors, schisms, disorders and uncharitable distractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pity.

How-ever, if violence must needs bring in and abett those Innovations (that men may not seem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reason, and Religion forbids, at least to be so obtruded, as wholly to justle out the publick Liturgie;

Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partiall severity of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used and maintained the Service-

book, or refuſed to uſe it, cryed out of the rigour of Lawes and Biſhops, which ſuffered them not to uſe the liberty of their Conſciences in not uſing it.

That theſe men (I ſay) ſhould ſo ſuddenly change the Liturgy into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expreſſions; or as if matter preſcribed did not as much ſtint and obſtruct the Spirit, as if it were cloathed in, and confined to, fit words: (So ſlight and eaſie is that Legerdemain which will ſerve to delude the vulgar.

That further, they ſhould uſe ſuch severity as not to ſuffer without penalty, any to uſe the Common-Prayer Book publikely, although their Conſciences binde them to it, as a duty of Piety to God, and obedience to the lawes.

Thus I ſee, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegall novelties, then ſuch, whoſe pride was formerly leaſt diſpoſed to the obedience of lawfull Conſtitutions; and whoſe licentious humors moſt pretended Conſcientious liberties, which freedom, with much regret they now allow to me, and my Chaplins, when they may have leave to ſerve me, whoſe abilities, even in their extemporary way comes not ſhort of the others, but their modeſty and learning far exceeds the moſt of them.

But this matter is of ſo popular a nature, as ſome men knew it would not bear learned and ſober debates leaſt being convinced by the evidence of Reaſon, as well as by lawes, they ſhould have been driven either to ſin more againſt their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgie; or to diſpleaſe ſome Faction of the People by continuing the uſe of it.

Though I beleeve they have offended more conſiderable men; not onely for their numbers and eſtates, but for their weighty and judicious piety, then thoſe are, whoſe weakneſſe or giddineſſe

they

they ſought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greateſt faults ſome men found with the Common-prayer-Booke, I beleeve was this, That it taught them to pray ſo oft for Me; to which Petitions they had not Loyalty enough to ſay Amen, nor yet Charity enough to forbear Reproaches, and even Curſings of Me in their own former, inſtead of praying for Me.

I wiſh their Repentance may be their onely puniſhment; that ſeeing the miſchiefs which the diſuſe of publique Liturgies hath already produced, they may reſtore that credit, uſe, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Forms of ſound and wholeſom words.

And thou, O Lord, which art the ſame God, bleſſed for ever: whoſe mercies are full of variety, and yet of conſtancy; Thou denyeſt us not a new and freſh ſenſe of our old and daily wants; nor deſpiſeſt renewed affections joyned to conſtant expreſſions,

Let us not want the benefits of thy Churches united and well-adviſed Devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwayes the ſame, and the fervency of our ſpirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us:

And then we doubt not, but thy ſpirituall perfections are ſuch, as thou art neither to be pleaſed with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious conſtancy of our petitions to them both.

Whoſe variety or conſtancy thou haſt no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the pitty and prudence of thy Church, that both may be uſed, neither deſpiſed.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgments in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly uſe, to help their infirmities.

An

And ſince the advantage of Error conſiſts in novelty and variety, as Truth in unity and conſtancy: Suffer not thy Church to be peſtered with Errors, and deformed with undecencies in thy ſervice, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity, and order, under this fallacy, That Conſtancy is the cauſe of Formality.

Lord keep us from formall Hypocriſie in our owne hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praiſing of thee (with David, *and other holy men) in the ſame forms cannot hurt us.*

Give us wiſdom to amend what is amiſſe within us, and there will be leſſe to mend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from effects of blinde Zeal, and over-bold Devotion.

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17. *Of the differences between the King and the two Houſes, in point of Church Government.*

TOuching the Government of the Church by Biſhops, the common Jealouſie hath been, that I am earneſt and reſolute to maintain it not ſo much out of piety, as policy and reaſon of State.

Wherein ſo far indeed reaſon of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I find it impoſſible for a Prince to preſerve the State in quiet, unleſſe he hath ſuch an influence upon Church-men; and they ſuch a dependance on Him, as may beſt reſtrain the ſeditious exorbitancies of Miniſters tongues; who with the Keyes of Heaven have ſo far the Keyes of the Peoples hearts, as they prevail much by their Oratory to let in, or ſhut out both Peace and Loyalty.

So that I being (as King) intruſted by God, and the Lawes, with the good both of Church and State; I ſee no Reaſon I ſhould give up, or weaken by any change

change, that power and influence which is right and reason I ought to have over both.

The moving Bishops out of the House of Peers (of which I have else where given an account) was sufficient to take off any suspition, that I incline to them for any use to be made of their Votes in State affairs: Though indeed I never thought any Bishop worthy to sit in the House, who would not Vote according to his Conscience.

I must now in Charity be thought desirous to preserve that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both my judgement is fully satisfied, that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture grounds, and also the constant practise of all Christian Churches; till the late years, the tumultuarinesse of People, or the factiousnesse and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousnesse of some States and Princes, gave occasion to some mens wits to invent new modles, and propose them under the specious titles of *Christs Government, Scepter, and Kingdom*; the better to serve their turnes, to whom the change was beneficiall.

They must give me leave, having none of their temptations to invite me to alter the Government of Bishops, (that I may have a title to their Estate) not to beleeve their pretended grounds to any new wayes contrary to the full and constant Testimony of all Histories, sufficiently convincing unbiased men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apostles and their immediate Successours the first and best Bishops; so it cannot in reason or charity be supposed, That all Churches in the world should either be ignorant of the rule by them prescribed, or so soon deviate from their divine and holy paterne: That since the first Age, for 1500 years, not one Example can be produced of any setled Church, wherein were many Ministers and

Congregations, which had not ſome Biſhop above them, under whoſe juriſdiction and Government they were.

Whoſe conſtant, and univerſall practiſe agreeing with ſo large, and evident Scripture-directions, and examples, are ſet down in the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the ſettling of that Govenment, not in the perſons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the ſucceſſion; (the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more diſpenſe with, in point of well-being, then the want of the Word and Sacrament in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to look with ſo envious an eye upon Biſhops power and authority, as to overſee both the Eccleſiaſticall uſe of them, and Apoſtolicall conſtitution: which to me ſeems no leſſe evidently ſet forth as to the main ſcope and deſigne of thoſe Epiſtles, for the ſettling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Authority in them as Preſident Biſhops above others in point of ordination, Cenſures, and other acts of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline; then thoſe ſhorter characters of the qualities & duties of Preſbyter Biſhops, and Deacons, are deſcribed in ſome parts of the ſame Epiſtles; who in the latitude and community of the name was then, and may now not improperly be called *Biſhops*; as to the over ſight and care of ſingle Congregations, committed to them by the Apoſtles, or thoſe Apoſtolicall Biſhops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) ſucceeded them in their ordinary power, here aſſigned over larger diviſions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humility of thoſe firſt Biſhops avoiding the eminent title of Apoſtles, as a name in the Churches ſtile appropriated from its common notion (*of a Meſſenger, or one ſent*) to that ſpeciall dignity which had extraordinary call, miſſion, gifts, and power immediately from Chriſt: they contented themſelves

ſelves with the ordinary titles of Biſhops and Preſbyters, until uſe, (the great arbitrator of words, and maſter of languages) finding reaſon to diſtinguiſh by a peculiar name thoſe perſons, whoſe power and office were indeed diſtinct from, and above all other in the Church, as ſucceeding the Apoſtles in the ordinary and conſtant power of governing the Churches, (the honour of whoſe name they moderately, yet commendably declined) all Chriſtian Churches (ſubmitting to that ſpecial authority) appropriated alſo the name of *Biſhop*, without any ſuſpicion or reproach of Arrogancy, to thoſe, who were by Apoſtolical propagation rightly deſcended and inveſted into that higheſt and largeſt power of governing even the moſt pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt, had many ſuch holy Biſhops, after the Pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*, whoſe ſpecial power is not more clearly ſet down in thoſe Epiſtles (the chief grounds and limits of all Epiſcopal claim, as from divine right) then are the characters of thoſe perilous times, and thoſe men that make them ſuch, who not enduring ſound doctrine, and cleer teſtimonies of all Churches practice, are moſt perverſe Diſputers, and proud Uſurpers againſt true Epiſcopacy: who, if they be not Traitors and Boaſters, yet they ſeem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded, inordinate and fierce, lovers of themſelves, having much of the form, little of the power of godlineſſe.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, ſeek to over-lay and ſmother the pregnancy and authority of that power of Epiſcopal Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is moſt convincingly ſet forth, both by Scripture, and all after Hiſtories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, then a Prince,

that

that Poſterity may ſee (if ever theſe Papers be publick) that I had fair grounds, both from Scripture-Canons, and Eccleſiaſticall examples, whereon my judgment was ſtated for Epiſcopal Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obſtinacy of will, or partiality in affection, either to the men, or Function, which fixed Me: who cannot in point of worldly reſpects, be ſo conſiderable to Me, as to recompence the injuries and loſſes I, and my deareſt relations with my Kingdoms, have ſuſtained and hazarded, chiefly at firſt, upon this Quarrel.

And not onely in Religion, of which, Scripture is the beſt rule, and the Churches univerſal practice the beſt commentary; but alſo in right reaſon, and the true nature of Government, it cannot be thought that an orderly ſubordination among Presbyters or Miniſters, ſhould be any more againſt Chriſtianitie, then it is in all ſecular and civil Governments, where parity breeds confuſion and faction.

I can no more beleeve, that ſuch order is inconſiſtent with true Religion, then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed ſeverall Orders, and a Prelacie, in the Government of his Church, among the Jewiſh Prieſts, ſhould abhor or forbid them among Chriſtian Miniſters; who have as much of the principles of ſchiſm and diviſion as other men: For preventing and ſuppreſſing of which, the Apoſtolical wiſdom (which was divine) after that Chriſtians were multiplied to many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might beſt preſerve order and union with Authority.

So that, I conceive, it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wiſdom and piety of the Apoſtles, that firſt ſetled Biſhops in the Church; which Authority they conſtantly uſed and enjoyed

enjoyed in thoſe times which were pureſt for Religion, though ſharpeſt for perſecution.

Not that I am againſt the managing of this Precedency and Authority in one may by the joynt counſel and conſent of many Presbyters: I have offered to reſtore that, as a fit means to avoid thoſe errours, corruptions and partialities which are incident to any one man: alſo to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Chriſtians, leaſt of all Church-men: beſides, it will be a means to take away that burden and odium of Affairs, which may lie too heavie on one mans ſhoulders, as indeed, I think, it formerly did on the Biſhops here.

Nor can I ſee what can be more agreeable both to Reaſon and Religion, then ſuch a frame of Government which is Paternal, not Magiſtrial; and wherein, not onely the neceſſity of avoiding faction and confuſion, emulations and contempts, which are prone to ariſe among equals in power and function; but alſo the differences of ſome Miniſters gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to thoſe abilities wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgment of Mine touching Epiſcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion which will not admit any oppoſitions againſt it: It is well known, I have endeavoured to ſatisfie my Self in what the chief Patrons for other ways can ſay againſt this, or for theirs: And I find they have, as, far leſs of Scripture grounds, and of Reaſon; ſo, for examples, and practice of the Church, or teſtimonies of Hiſtories, they are wholly deſtitute; wherein the whole ſtream runs ſo for Epiſcopacy, that there is not the leaſt rivolet for any others.

As for thoſe obtruded examples of ſome late reformed Churches (for many retain Biſhops ſtill) whom neceſſity of times and affairs rather excuſeth, then

then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquitie: I could never see any reason why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Bishops, should be forced to conform to those few, rather then to the Catholick example of all Ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And to those Churches at this day, who governed by Bishops in all the Christian world, are many more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be: All whom the Churches in my three Kingdoms lately governed by Bishops would equalize (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdom or charity, where Christians differ (as many do in some points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian world (except an handful of some Protestants) so great a scandal in point of Chuch-government; whom, though you may convince of their Errours in some point of Doctrine, yet you shall never perswade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they must necessarily desert, and wholly cast off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apostolical: So far, as never Schismaticks nor Hereticks, (except those Arrians) have strayed from the Unity and conformity of the Church in that Point; ever having Bishops above Presbyters.

Besides, the late general approbation and submission to this Government of Bishops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laitie of these Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of my judgment; and their inconstancy is a great prejudice against their novelty: I cannot in charity so far doubt of their learning and integrity, as if they understood not what heretofore they did, or that they did conform contrary to their consciences; So that their facilitie and levitie is never to be excused, who, before ever the Point of Church-government had any free and impartial debate, contra-

ry

ry to their former Oathes and Practice, against their obedience to the Laws in force, and against my consent, have not onely quite cryed down the Government by Bishops; but have approved and encouraged the violent and most illegal stripping all the Bishops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the selling away, and utter alienation of those Church-lands from any Ecclesiastical uses: So great a power hath the stream of times, and the prevalency of Parties over some mens judgments: of whose so sudden and so total change, little reason can be given, besides the Scots Army coming into England.

But the folly of these men will at length punish it self, and the desertors of Episcopacy will appear the greatest enemies to, and betrayers of their own Interest: for Presbytery is never so considerable or effectual, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Episcopacy. All Ministers will find as great a difference, in point of thriving, between the favour of the People, and all Princes, as Plants do between being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberall dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will soon let them see, what a poor carcass they are, when parted from the influence of that Head to whose Supremacy they have been sworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs: I am firm to Primitive Episcopacy, not to have it extirpated, if I can hinder it. Discretion without passion might easily reform what-ever the rust of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners hath brought upon it. It being a grosse vulgar errour, to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times or persons; which seditious and popular Principle and Practice, all wise men abhorr.

For

For thoſe ſecular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civil Honour and Eſtate, which my Predeceſſours, and Chriſtian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Biſhops and Church-men; I look upon them but as juſt rewards of their learning and pietie, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; alſo enablements to works of Charity and Hoſpitality, meet ſtrengthnings of their Authority in point of reſpect and obſervance; which in peacefull times is hardly paid to any Governours by the meaſure of their Vertues, ſo much, as by that of their Eſtates: Poverty and meanneſs expoſing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious minds and manners, which perſecuting times much reſtrained.

I would have ſuch men Biſhops as are moſt worthy of thoſe encouragements, and beſt able to uſe them; if at any time my judgment of men failed, my good intention made my error venial; And ſome Biſhops, I am ſure, I had, whoſe learning, gravity and piety, no men of any worth or fore-head can deny: But, of all men, I would have Church-men, eſpecially the Governours, to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect, which (beſides an innate principle of vicious oppoſition which is in all men, againſt thoſe that ſeem to reprove or reſtrain them) will neceſſarily follow both the Presbyterian Parity, which makes all Miniſters equall, and the Independent Inferiority, which ſets their Paſtors below the People.

This for my Judgment touching Epiſcopacy: wherein (God knows) I do not gratifie any deſigne or paſſion with the leaſt perverting of Truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Chriſtian world, whether it be juſt for Subjects, or pious for Chriſtians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with ſervile reſtraints to ſeek to force Me their King and Soveraign, as ſome men have endeavoured to

do,

do, againſt all theſe grounds of my Judgment, to conſent to their weak and divided Novelties.

The greateſt Pretender of them deſires not more then I do, That the Church may be governed, as Chriſt hath appointed, in true Reaſon, and in Scripture: of which I could never ſee any probable ſhew for any other ways: who either content themſelves with the examples of ſome Churches in their infancy and ſolitude, when one Presbyter might ſerve one Congregation in a City or Country: or elſe they deny theſe moſt evident Truths, That the Apoſtles were Biſhops over thoſe Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted: and that, Government being neceſſary for the Churches welbeing, when multiplied and ſociated, muſt alſo neceſſarily deſcend from the Apoſtles to others, after the example of that Power and Superiority they had above others: which could not end with their perſons, ſince the uſe and ends of ſuch Government ſtil continue.

It is moſt ſure, that the pureſt, primitive, and beſt Churches flouriſhed under Epiſcopacy, and may ſo ſtill, if ignorance, ſuperſtition, avarice, revenge, and other diſorderly and diſloyall paſſions had not ſo blown up ſome mens minds againſt it, that what they want of Reaſons or Primitive patterns, they ſupply with violence and oppreſſion: wherein ſome mens zeal for Biſhops Lands, Houſes and Revenues, hath ſet them on work to eat up Epiſcopacy: which (however other men eſteem) to Me is no leſſe ſin then Sacrilege, or a robbery of God (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout mindes have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets, through whoſe hands he graciouſly accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himſelf.

Furthermore, as to my particular engagment above

above other men, by an Oath agreeable to my Judgment, I am ſolemnly obliged to maintain that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulneſs of the Function as Antichriſtian (which ſome men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could ſoon with Judgment break that Oath, which erroneouſly was taken by me.

But being daily, by the beſt diſquiſition of truth, more confirmed in the Reaſon and Religion of that to which I am ſworn; How can any man, that wiſheth not my damnation, perſwade me at once to ſo notorious and combined ſins of Sacriledge and Perjury? beſides the many perſonal Injuſtices I muſt do to many worthy men, who are as legally inveſted in their Eſtates, as any who ſeek to deprive them; and they have by no Law been convicted of thoſe crimes which might forfeit their Eſtates and Livelihoods.

I have oft wondered how men pretending to tenderneſſe of Conſcience, and Reformation, can at once tel Me, that my Coronation Oath binds Me to conſent to whatſoever they ſhall propound to Me, (which they urge with ſuch violence) though contrary to all that Rational and Religious freedome which every man ought to preſerve; and of which they ſeem ſo tender in their Votes: yet at the ſame time theſe men will needs perſwade Me, That I muſt and ought to diſpenſe with, and roundly break that part of my Oath which binds Me (agreeable to the beſt light and reaſon I have) to maintain the Government, and legal Rights of the Church. 'Tis ſtrange, my lot ſhould be valid in that part, which both my Self, and all men in their own caſe, eſteem injurious and unreaſonable, as being againſt the very naturall and eſſentiall liberty of our ſouls: yet it ſhould be invalid, and to be broken in another clauſe, wherein I think my Self juſtly obliged, both to God and Man.

Yet

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held ſo long, by ſome mens ambitious Covetouſneſs, and ſacrilegious Cruelty, torturing (with Me) both Church and State in Civil Diſſentions, til I ſhall be forced to conſent, and declare that I do approve what (God knows) I utterly diſlike, and in my Soul abhor, as many ways highly againſt Reaſon, Juſtice and Religion: and whereto, if I ſhould ſhamefully and diſhonourably give my conſent, yet ſhould I not by ſo doing, ſatisfie the divided Intereſts and Opinions of thoſe Parties, which contend with each other, as wel as both againſt Me and Epiſcopacy.

Nor can my late condeſcending to the Scots in point of Church-government, be rightly objected againſt Me, as an inducement for Me to conſent to the like in my other Kingdoms: For it ſhould be conſidered, that Epiſcopacy was not ſo rooted and ſetled there as 'tis here; nor I (in that reſpect) ſo ſtrictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom as in this: for what I think in my Judgment beſt, I may not think ſo abſolutely neceſſary for all places, and at all times.

If any ſhal impute my yeelding to them as my failing and ſin; I can eaſily acknowledge it: but that is no argument to do ſo again, or much worſe; I being now more convinced in that Point: nor indeed hath my yeelding to them been ſo happy and ſucceſsful, as to encourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I ſee any thing more of Chriſt, as to Meekneſs, Juſtice, Order, Charity and Loyalty, in thoſe that pretend to other modes of Government, I might ſuſpect my Judgment to be biaſſed, or fore-ſtalled with ſome prejudice and wontedneſs of opinion: but I have hitherto ſo much cauſe to ſuſpect the contrary in the manners of thoſe men, that I cannot from them gain the leaſt reputation for their new ways of Government.

Nor

Nor can I finde that in any Reformed Churches (whose paterns are so cried up, and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) that either Learning or, Religion, works of Piety or Charity, have so flourished beyond what they have done in my Kingdoms (by Gods blessing) which might make Me beleeve either Presbytery or Independency have a more benign influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, then Episcopacy in its right Constitution

The Abuses of which deserve to be extirpated, as much as the use retained; for I think it far better to hold to primitive and uniform Antiquity, then to comply with divided noveltie.

A right Episcopacy would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church affairs should be managed neither with tyranny, parity, nor popularity; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised nor People oppressed.

And in this integrity both of my judgement and Conscience, I hope God will preserve me.

For Thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightnesse and tendernesse, as Thou hast set Me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protector of Thy Church, so suffer Me not by any violence to be over-born against My Conscience.

Arise O Lord, maintain Thine own Cause, let not Thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from Thy Apostles, have been retained in purest and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of secular envy; which seeks to rob it of all the encouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me, as the good Samaritan, compassionate, and helpfull to Thy afflicted Church, which some men have wounded and robbed; others past by without regard, either to pity, or relieve.

As

As my power is from thee, ſo give me grace to uſe it for thee.

Though I am not ſuffered to be Maſter of my other Rights as a King, *yet preſerve me in that liberty of Reaſon, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conſcience as a Chriſtian.*

Preſerve from Sacrilegious invaſions, thoſe temporall bleſſings, which thy providence hath beſtowed on Thy Church for thy Glory.

Forgive their ſins and errours, who have deſerved thy juſt permiſſion, thus to let in the wilde Boar, and ſubtill Foxes, to waſte and deforme thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven ſo long watered to a happy and flouriſhing eſtate.

O let me not bear the infamous brand to all Poſterity of being the firſt Chriſtian King *in this Kingdome, who ſhould conſent to the oppreſſion of thy* Church, *and the Fathers of it; whoſe errours I would rather, with* Conſtantine, *cover with ſilence, and reform with meekneſſe, then expoſe their Perſons and ſacred Function, to vulgar contempt.*

Thou, O Lord, ſeeſt how much I have ſuffered with, and for thy Church; *make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both me, and it, from unreaſonable men; whoſe counſels have brought forth, and continue ſuch violent confuſions, by a precipitant deſtroying the ancient boundaries of the* Churches *peace; thereby letting in all manner of Errours, Schiſmes, and diſorders.*

O thou God, of order, and of truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, aſſwage the rage, and confound all the miſchievous deviſes of thine, mine, and thy Churches *enemies:*

That I and all that love thy Church, *may ſing praiſes to thee and ever magnifie thy ſalvation, even before the ons of men.*

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18. *Upon* Uxbridge-*Treaty, and other Offers made by the* King.

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts to arguing like men; whose ſtrength ſhould be more in their underſtanding then in their limbs.

And though I could ſeldome get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either deſire or diſpoſition to it; hauing a greater conſideration of my Reaſon, then my Sword: I was ſo wholly reſolved to yeeld to the firſt, that I thought neither my ſelf, nor others, ſhould need to uſe the ſecond, if once we rightly underſtood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of me, to prevent them with Expreſſes of my deſire: and even importunities to Treat: it being an office not only of Humanity, rather to uſe reaſon then Force; but alſo of Chriſtianity *to ſeeck peace and enſue it.*

As I am very unwillingly compelled to defend my ſelf with Armes; ſo I very willingly embraced any thing tending to Peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civill War uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the miſchief of the means.

Nor did any ſucceſſe I had ever enhaunce with me the price of Peace, as earneſtly deſired by Me as any man; though I was like to pay the dearer for it then any man: All that I ſought to reſerve, was mine Honour, and my Conſcience; the one I could not part with as a King, the other as a Chriſtian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the faireſt hopes of an happy compoſure; had others applyed themſelves to it with the ſame moderation, as I did, I am confident the war had then ended.

I was willing to condeſcend, as farre as Reaſon, Honour,

Honour, and Conſcience, would give me leave; nor were the remaining differences ſo eſſentiall to My Peoples happineſſe, or of ſuch conſequence as in the leaſt kind to have hindred My Subjects either ſecurity, or proſperity: for they better enjoyed both many yeers, before ever thoſe demands were made, ſome of which, to deny, I think the greateſt Juſtice to My ſelf and favor to My Subjects.

I ſee Jealouſies are not ſo eaſily allayed, as they are raiſed: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, then to Engage, what is wanting in equity, muſt be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or to loſe in warre, ſtudied to render the very name of *Peace* odious and ſuſpected.

In Church affaires, where I had leaſt liberty of prudence having ſo many ſtrict ties of Conſcience upon Me, yet I was willing to condeſend ſo far to the ſetling of them, as might have given fair ſatisfaction to all men, to whom faction, covetouſneſſe or ſuperſtition had not engaged more, then any true zeal, charity or love of Reformation.

I was content to yeeld to all that might ſeem to advance true pietie: I onely ſought to continue what was neceſſary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority to the Churches Government, and what I am perſwaded (as I have elſe where ſet down My thoughts more fully) is moſt agreeable to the true Principles of all Governments, raiſed to its full ſtature and perfection, as alſo to the Primitive Apoſtolicall patern, and the practiſe of the Univerſall Church conform thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reaſon urged or anſwered, onely to ſatisfie ſome mens wills and fantaſies (which yet agree not among themſelves in any point, but that of exterpating Epiſcopacy, and fighting againſt Me) muſt needs argue

argue such a softnesse and infirmity of minde in Me, as will rather part with Gods Truth, then Mans Peace; and rather lose the Churches Honour, then crosse some mens factious humour.

God knows, and time will discover, who were most to blame for the unsuccessfulness of that Treaty, and who must bear the guilt of after calamities. I beleeve, I am very excusable both before God and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavourned no less the restauration of Peace to my People, then the preservation of my Crowns to my Posterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair condescendings as Arguments of feebleness, and glory most in an inflexible stiffnesse, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them, was, always to ask somthing which in reason & honor must be denied, that they might have som colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting Peace at as high a rate as the worst effects of War; endeavouring first to make Me destroy my Self by dishonourable Concessions, that so they might have the lesse to do.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world see how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the publick Peace.

That it gave occasion to som mens further restiveness, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Concessions or Negations of Mine: I have always the content of what I offered, and they the regret and blame for what they refused.

The highest tide of success set me not above a Treaty, nor the lowest ebb below a Fight: Though I never thought it any signe of true valour to be prodigall of mens lives, rather then to be drawn to produce our own reasons, or subscribe to other mens.

That which made Me for the most part presage the

the unsuccessfulnesse of any Treaty, was, some mens unwillingnesse to Treat, which implied some things were to be gained by the Sword, whose unreasonablenesse they were loth to have fairly scanned, being more proper to be acted by Souldiers, then by Counsellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking, and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword, a better opportunity to use such moderation, as was then wanting; that so though Peace were for our sins justly deferred, yet at last it may be happily obtained: what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers.

O thou, that art the God of Reason, and of Peace, who disdainest not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of attonement, and beseeching them to be reconciled with thy self: who wantest not power, or justice, to destroy them; yet aboundest in mercy to save: soften our hearts by the blood of our Redeemer, and perswade us to accept of Peace with thy self; and both to procure and preserve Peace among our selves, as Men and Christians. How oft have I intreated for Peace, but when I speak thereof, they make them ready to Warre.

Condemn us not to our passions, which are destructive, both of our selves and of others.

Clear up our understandings, to see thy Truth, both in Reason, as Men; and in Religion as Christians: and encline all our hearts to hold the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charity which should be among our selves.

Remove the evils of War we have deserved, and bestow upon us that Peace which only Christ our Peacemaker can merit.

19. *Upon the various events of the War; Victories, and Defeats.*

THe various Succeſſes of this unhappy war, have at laſt, afforded Me variety of good Meditations: ſometimes God was pleaſed to try Me with Victory, by worſting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and uſe his power, who is onely the true *Lord of Hoſts*; able when he pleaſes, to repreſſe the confidence of thoſe that fought againſt Me, with ſo great advantages for power and number.

From ſmall beginnings on My part, he let Me ſee, that I was not wholly forſaken by My peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleaſed to exerciſe my patience, and teach Me not to truſt in the arm of Fleſh, but in the living God.

My ſins ſometimes prevailed againſt the juſtice of My cauſe: and thoſe that were with Me wanted not matter and occaſion for his juſt chaſtiſement both of them and Me: nor were My enemies leſs puniſhed by that proſperity, which hardened them to continue that injuſtice by open hoſtility, which was begun by moſt riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but perſonall and private ſins may oft-times over-ballance the Juſtice of Publick engagements; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the worlds eſteem) a fit inſtrument to aſſert in the way of Warr, a righteous Cauſe; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour and ſtrength, the leſs doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am ſure the event or ſucceſs can never ſtate the Juſtice of any Cauſe, nor the peace of mens Conſciences, nor the eternal ſate of their Souls.

Thoſe

Thoſe with Me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Juſtification the Word of God, and the Lawes of the Land, together with their own Oathes: all requiring obedience to My juſt Commands, but to none under Heaven without Me, or againſt me, in the point of raiſing Armes.

Thoſe on the other ſide are forced to flie to the ſhifts of ſome pretended Fears, and wild fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the preſent Fabrick, both of Church and State: being ſuch imaginary Reaſons for ſelf-defence as are moſt impertinent for thoſe men to alledge, who being My Subjects, were manifeſtly the firſt aſſaulters of Me and the Lawes: firſt by unſuppreſſing the Tumults, after by liſted Forces: The ſame Allegiance they uſe, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to ſecond with the Sword, all their demands againſt the preſent Lawes and Governours, which can never be ſuch as ſome ſide or other will not finde fault with, ſo as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion againſt them, ſome Paraſiticik Preachers have dared to call thoſe Martyrs, who died fighting againſt Me, the Lawes, their Oathes, and the Religion Eſtabliſhed.

But ſober Chriſtians know, That glorious Title, can with Truth be applyed onely to thoſe, who ſincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all theſe particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to him in this world, who having no advantagious deſignes by any Innovation, were religiouſly ſenſible of thoſe ties to God, the Church, and my ſelf, which lay upon their ſoul's, both for obedience and juſt aſſiſtance.

God could, and I doubt not, but he did through his mercy, crown many of them with eternall life, whoſe lives were loſt in ſo juſt a Cauſe: The deſtru-

ction of their bodies being ſanctified, as a means to ſave their ſouls.

Their wounds, and temporall ruine ſerving as a gracious opportunity for their eternall health and happineſſe, while the evident approach of death did, through Gods grace, effectually diſpoſe their hearts to ſuch Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their preſent engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutiſh and diſloyal fierceneſſe could deprive them of, or without repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better againſt My ſide in the Field, but never, I beleeve, at the bar of Gods Tribunall, or their own Conſcience; where they are more afraid to encounter thoſe many pregnant Reaſons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Chriſtian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuſe them *in* their own thoughts, then they oft were in a deſperate bravery to fight againſt thoſe Forces, which ſometimes God gave Me.

Whoſe condition conquered, and dying, I make no queſtion, but is infinitely more to be choſen by a ſober man, (that duly values his duty, his ſoul, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this preſent life) then the moſt triumphant glory, wherein their and Mine Enemies ſupervive: who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their ſuſpicious, or new convicted Conſciences do purſue them, eſpecially ſince they and all the world have ſeen, how falſe and un-intended thoſe pretenſions were, which they firſt ſet forth, as the only plauſible (though not juſtifiable) grounds of raiſing a War, and continuing it thus long againſt Me, and the Laws eſtabliſhed, in whoſe ſafety and preſervation all honeſt men think the welfare of their Country doth conſiſt.

For

For, and withall which, it is far more honorable and comfortable to ſuffer, then to proſper in their ruine and ſubverſion.

I have often prayed, that all on my ſide might joyn true piety with the ſenſe of their Loyalty, and be as faithfull to God and their own ſouls, as they were to me. That the defects of the one might not blaſt the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think that any ſhewes, or truth of piety on the other ſide were ſufficient to diſpence with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyaltie to me, which have ſo pregnant convictions on mens Conſciences, that even profaner men are moved by the ſenſe of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any victory which was without My ſorrow, becauſe it was on my owne Subjects, who, like *Abſolom*, died many of them in their ſin: And yet I never ſuffered any Defeat, which made me deſpair of Gods mercy and defence.

I never deſired ſuch Victories, as might ſerve to conquer but only reſtore the Lawes and Liberties of My People, which I ſaw were extreamly oppreſſed, together with my Rights by thoſe men, who were impatient of any juſt reſtraint.

When Providence gave me, or denyed me Victory, my deſire was neither to boaſt of my power, nor to charge God foolihly; who I beleeved at laſt would make all things work together for my good.

I wiſhed no greater advantage by the war, then to bring my Enemies to moderation, and my friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an abſolute conqueſt, and never prayed more for Victory over others, then over my ſelfe. When the firſt was denied, the ſecond was granted me, which God ſaw beſt for me.

The different events were but the methods of divine Juſtice, by contrary winds to winnow us: that by puniſhing our ſins, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to uſe ſo great a bleſſing.

My often Meſſages for Peace ſhewed, that I delighted not in War: as my former Conceſſions ſufficiently teſtified how willingly I would have prevented it; and my totall unpreparedneſs for it, how little I intended it.

The conſcience of my innocency forbade Me to fear a War: but the love of my Kingdoms commanded Me (if poſſible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this War, of nothing but this, That I gave ſuch advantages to ſome men, by confirming their Power, which they knew not to uſe with that modeſtie and gratitude which became their Loyaltie and my Confidence.

Had I yeelded leſs, I had been oppoſed leſs; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occaſions of the War; I wiſh only a happy concluſion of ſo unhappy beginnings. The inevitable fate of our ſins was (no doubt) ſuch, as would no longer ſuffer the divine Juſtice to be quiet: we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutual conquerings to deſtroy one another; for, the moſt proſperous Succeſſes on either ſide, impair the welfare of the whole.

Thoſe Victories are ſtil miſerable, that leave our ſins unſubdued; ſluſhing out pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it ſelf is not deſirable, till repentance have prepared for it.

When we fight more againſt our ſelves, and leſs againſt God, we ſhall ceaſe fighting againſt one another: I pray God theſe may all meet in our hearts, and ſo diſpoſe us to an happy concluſion of theſe

Civil

Civil Warrs; that I may know better to obey God, and govern my People. and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor doe I desire any man should be further subject to Me, then all of us may be subject to God.

O God make me be content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach me the noblest victory over my Self, and my enemies, by patience; which was Christ's conquest, and may well become a Christian King,

Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting; fashion us to that frame of piety thou likest best.

Forgive the pride that attends our prosperous, and the repining, which follow our disastrous events; when going forth in our strength thou withdraweſt thine, and goest not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are something, and when we are nothing; that thou mayest have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou, O Lord knoweſt, how hard it is for me to suffer so much evil from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compell me to inflict upon them; punishing my self in their punishments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a sufferer; I beseech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which only can be sufficient for me.

As I am most afflicted, so make me most reformed: that I may be not onely happy to see an end of these Civil distractions, but a chief instrument to restore and establish a firm, and a blessed Peace to my Kingdoms.

Stirre up all parties, pious ambitions to overcome each other with reason, moderation, and selfe-deniall, as becomes those, who consider, that our mutuall divisions are

our common distractions, and the union of all is every good mans chiefest interest.

If O Lord, as for the sinnes of our Peace, thou hast brought upon us the miseries of Warre; so for the sins of Warre thou shouldst see fit still to deny us the blessing of Peace, and so to keepe us in a circulation of misrie; yet give me thy Servant, and all Loyall, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace which the world can neither give to us nor take from us.

Impute not to me the blood of my Subjects which with infinite unwillingnesse and griefe, hath been shed by me; in my just and necessary defence; but wash me with that precious bloud, which hath been shed for me, by my great Peace maker Jesus Christ. Who will, I trust, redeeme me shortly out of all my troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the wicked is but short, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

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20. *Upon the Reformation of the Times.*

NO Glory is more to be envied then that, of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are such, that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God should not honour me so farre, as to make me an instrument of so good a work, yet I should be glad to see it done.

And I was well pleased with the Parliaments first intentions to inform what the indulgence of Times and corruption of manners might have depraved; so I am sory to see after the freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppressed, how little regard was had to the good Lawes established, and the Religion settled; which ought to be the first rule and standards of reforming: with how much partiality, and popular compliance the passions, and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the

Publick,

Publick, and the infinite ſcandal of the Reformed Religion.

What diſſolutions of all Order and Government in the Church; what novlties of Schiſms and corrupt opinions; what undecencies and confuſions in ſacred adminiſtrations; what ſacrilegious invaſions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Chuch; what contempt and oppreſſions of the Clergy; what injurious diminutions and perſecutings of Me, have followed (as ſhowers do warm gleams) the talk of Reformation, all ſober men are witneſſes, and with my Self, ſad Spectators hitherto.

The great miſcarriage (I think) is, That popular clamours and fury have been allowed the reputation of Zeal, and the publick Senſe: ſo that the ſtudy to pleaſe ſome Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, moderation and impartiality are ſure the beſt tempers of reforming Councels, and endeavours: what is acted by Factions, cannot but offend more then it pleaſeth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church Affairs and Religion to the free conſultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly choſen: the reſults of whoſe Counſels, as they would have included the Votes of all, ſo its like they would have given moſt ſatisfaction to all.

The Aſſembly of Divines whom the two Houſes have applied (in an unwonted way) to adviſe of Church affairs, I diſlike not, further then that they are not legally convened and choſen: nor Act in the name of all the Clergie of *England*: nor with freedom and impartiality can do any thing, being limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think, ſo many men, cryed up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgie and Government of the Church of *England*, as

to the main, would have ſo ſuddenly agreed quite to abolish both of them (the laſt of which they knew to be of Apoſtolical Inſtitution, at leaſt, as of Primitive and univerſal Practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own ſuffrages, and if the influence of contrary factions had not by ſecret incroachments of hopes and fears, prevailed upon them, to comply with ſo great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without any regard to their own former judgment and practice, or to the common intereſt and honour of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, Learning and Religion, againſt examples of all Ancient Churches, the Laws in force, and my Conſent; which is never to be gained againſt ſo pregnant light, as in that point ſhines on my Underſtanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not ſo cleer and punctual in Precepts, there the conſtant and univerſall practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reaſon, Faith, good Manners, or any poſitive command, is the beſt rule that Chriſtians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or reſtore to Presbytery what with Reaſon or Diſcretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Epiſcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authority of that Ancient Order, I think neither juſt, as to Epiſcopacy, nor ſafe for Presbytery; nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due Reformation had eaſily followed moderate Counſels; and ſuch (I beleeve) as would have given more content, even to the moſt of thoſe Divines who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry on other mens deſignes: which no doubt many of them by this time diſcover, though they dare not but ſmother their fruſtrations and diſcontents.

The

The ſpecious and popular Title of Chriſt's Government, Throne, Scepter and Kingdom, (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their Parties now have, at leaſt,) alſo the noiſe of a thorow Reformation; they may as eaſily be ſined on new models, as fair colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windows, which time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling down of Croſſes, which were but civill, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments and Inſcriptions of the Dead, which ſerved but to put Poſterity in minde, to thank God for that clearer Light wherein they live: The leaving of all Miniſters to their liberties, and private abilities in the publick Service of God, where no Chriſtian can tell to what he may ſay Amen: or what adventure he may make, of ſeeming, at leaſt, to conſent to the Errours, Blaſphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies which bold and ignorant men liſt to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices. The ſetting forth alſo of old Catechiſms and Confeſſions of Faith new dreſt, importing as much, as if there had been no ſound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before ſome four or five yeers conſultation had matured their thoughts touching the firſt Principles of Religion.

All theſe and the like, are the effects of popular, ſpecious and deceitful Reformations, (that they might not ſeem to have nothing to do) and may give ſome ſhort flaſhes of content to the Vulgar (who are taken with novelties, as children with babies, very much, but not very long.) But all this amounts not to, nor can in juſtice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation; ſince they leave all things more deformed, diſorderly, and diſcontented then when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity and good Order.

Nor

Nor can they easily recompense or remedy the inconveniencies and mischiefes which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and ever will necessarily ensue, till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last make it their unanimous work, to do Gods work, and not their own: Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so many Laws, and long Customs, would not run into new moulds, till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civil War; by the advantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make my Self and all my Subjects fall downe and worship the Images they should forme and set up: If there had been as much of Christ's Spirit for meeknesse, wisdome and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his Name used in the pretensions to reform all to Christ's Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of God's blessing, and produced more of Christ's Glory, the Churches Good, the Honour of Religion, and the Unity of Christians.

Publick Reformers had need first act in private, and practise that on their own hearts, which they purpose to try on others: for Deformities within, will soon betray the pretenders of publick Reformations, to such private designes as must needs hinder the publick good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming the Church cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civil State, nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients and Ornaments of true Religion; for, next to *Fear God, is Honour the King.*

I doubt not but Christ's Kingdom may be set up without

without pulling down Mine; nor will any men in impartiall times appear good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christ's Government will confirm mine, not overthrow it since as I owne mine from him, so I desire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christ's Government, or knew what it meant, in their hearts they could never have been so ill governed in their words, and actions, both against me, and one another.

As good ends cannot justifie evill means, so nor will evill beginings ever bring forth good conclusions; unlesse God by a miracle of Mercy, create Light out of Darkenesse, Order out of our Confusions, and Peace out of our Passions.

Thou, O Lord, who only canst give us beauty for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie; suffer us not to be miserably deluded with Pharisaical washings, instead of Christian Reforming.

Our greatest deformities are within, make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our own soules.

That we may in clearnesse of judgement, and uprightnes of heart be meanes to reform what indeed is amisse in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us; that we may do all by thy direction, to thy glory, and with thy blessing.

Pity the deformities, which some rash and cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State. Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.

As thou hast shewed the world by their divisions, and confusions, what is the pravity of some mens intentions, and weakneſſe of their judgements; so bring us at last more refined out of these fires, by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformations; wherein nothing

of

of ambition, revenge, covetousnes, or sacriledge, may have any influence upon their counsels, whom thy Providence in just and lawful wayes shall intrust with so great good, and now most necessary work. That I and My People may be so blest with inward Piety, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward Peace.

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21. *Upon His Majesties Letters taken and divulged.*

THe taking of my Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of mine enemies could hardly have expected; so they know not how much with honour and civility to use it: Nor doe I think with sober and worthy mindes any thing in them could tend so much to my reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greatest experiments of Vertue and Noblenes being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy; and the greatest obligations being those, which are put upon us by them from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteem'd the concealing of my Papers; the freedom and secresie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane then to expose them to publick view.

Yet since providence will have it so, I am content so much of My heart (which I study to approve to Gods Omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those dresses, or popular captions, which some men use in their Speeches and Expresses; I wish my Subjects had yet a clearer sight into My most retired thoughts:

Where they might discover, how they are divided

ded between the love and care I have, not more to preserve my own Rights, then to procure their peace and happiness, and that extreme grief to see them both deceived and destroyed.

Nor can any mans malice be gratified further by my Letters, then to see my constancy to my Wife, the Laws, and Religion. Bees will gather Honey where the Spider sucks Poyson.

That I endeavoured to avoid the pressures of my Enemies by all fair and just correspondencies, no man can blame, who loves Me, or the Commonwealth, since my Subjects can hardly be happy, if I be miserable, or enjoy their peace and liberties while I am oppressed.

The world may see how some mens designe, like *Absolom's*, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exasperate all sides to such distances as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet I thank God, I can not onely with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with charity forgive them.

The integrity of my intentions is not jealous of any injury my expressions can do them, for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedom in writing such Letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the innocency of my chief purposes cannot be so obtained, or mis-interpreted by them, as not to let all men see, that I wish nothing more, then an happy composure of differences with Justice and Honour, nor more to my own, then my Peoples content, who have any sparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by those my Letters may be convinced, that I can both minde and act my own and my Kingdoms Affairs, so as becomes a Prince; which mine Enemies have alwaies been very loth should be beleeved of Me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of

others;

others; whom they please to brand with the names of evil Counsellors.

Its probable some men will now look upon Me as my own Counsellor, and having none else to quarrel with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their Anger to my Self: Although I know they are very unwilling I should enjoy the liberty of my own Thoughts, or follow the light of my own conscience, which they labour to bring into an absolute captivitie to themselves; not allowing Me to think their counsels to be other then good for Me, which have so long maintained a War against Me.

The Victory they obtained that day when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have satiated the most ambitious thirst of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom prosperity gains the greatest esteem and applause, as adversity exposeth to their greatest slighting and disrespect: As if good fortune were alwaies the shadow of Vertue and Justice, and did not oftner attend vicious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I see no secular advantages seem sufficient to that Cause, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the Vulgar.

They think no Victories so effectuall to their designes, as those that most rout and waste my Credit with my People; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect and Loyalty to Me, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover Mine, the Lawes, and the Kingdoms Liberties, which some men seek to overthrow. The taking away of my Credit is but a necessary preparation to the taking away of my Life and my Kingdoms; first, I must seem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reign: By exquisite methods of cunning and cruelty, I must be compelled, first to follow the Funerals of my Honour, and then be

destroy-

deſtroyed: But I know Gods un-erring and impartial Juſtice can, and will over-rule the moſt perverſe wils and deſignes of men; he is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worſt of mine Enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor do I think that by the ſurprize of my Letters, I have loſt any more then ſo many papers: how much they have loſt of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be paid to all men, and moſt becomes ſuch as pretend to Religion;) beſides that of Reſpect and Honour, which they owe to their KING, preſent, and after-times will judge. And I cannot think that their own Conſciences are ſo ſtupid, as not to inflict upon them ſome ſecret impreſſions of that ſhame and diſhonour which attends all unworthy actions, have they never ſo much of publick flattery, and popular countenance.

I am ſure they can never expect the divine approbation of ſuch undecent actions, if they do but remember how God bleſs'd the modeſt reſpect and filial tenderneſs which *Noah*'s Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity juſtifie *Cham*'s impudency, or exempt him from that curſe of being *Servant of Servants*; which curſe muſt needs be on them who ſeek by diſhonourable actions to pleaſe the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malicious intentions be ever either excuſable or proſperous, who thought to expoſe Me to the higheſt reproach and contempt of my People, forgetting that duty of modeſt concealment which they owed to the Father of their Country, in caſe they had diſcovered any real uncomlineſs, which, I thank God they did not, who can, and I beleeve, hath made Me more reſpected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to to whom they thought, by publiſhing my private Letters, to have rendred Me as a vile

Perſon,

Person, not fit to be trusted or considered, under any Notion of Majesty.

But thou, O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing providence, ordereth the greatest contingencies of humane affaires, make me to see the constancy of thy mercies to me, in the greatest advantages thou seemst to give the malice of my Enemies against me.

As thou didst blast the counsel of Achitophel, *turning it to* David's *good, and his own ruine: so canst thou defeat their designe, who intended by publishing my privat Letters, nothing else, but to render me more odious and contemptible to my People.*

I must first appeale to my Omniscience, who canst witnesse with my integrity, how unjust and false those scandalous misconstructions are, which my enemies endeavour by those Papers of mine to represent to the world.

Make the evil they imagined, and displeasure they intended thereby against me, so to returne on their own heads, that they may be ashamed, and covered with their own confusion, as with a Cloak.

Thou seest how mine Enemies use all means to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Annointed.

But give me a heart content to be dishonoured for thy sake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpose to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by restoring to me the enjoyment of that power and Majesty, which thou hast suffered some men to seeke to deprive me of; or by bestowing on me that crown of Christian patience, which knows how to serve thee in honour, or dishonour, in good report or evill.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodnesse and honor, thou art cloathed with excellent Majesty; make me to partake of thy excellency for wisdom, justice, and mercy, & I shall not want that degree of Honour, and Majesty, which

becomes

becomes the Place in which thou hast set Me; who art the lifter up of my head, and my Salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace lead me to thy Glory, which is both true and eternall.

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22. *Upon His Majesties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough God hath given Me three Kingdoms, yet in these He hath not now left me any place where I may with Safety and Honour rest my Head: Shewing me, that Himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence, in which I may put my Trust.

In these extremities, I look not to man so much as to God; He will have it so, that I may cast my Self, and my now distressed Affairs upon his Mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessity is now my Counsellour, and commands Me to study my Safety by a disguised with-drawing from my chiefest Strength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty, who first began my troubles. Haply God may make them a means honorably to compose them.

This my confidence of them may dis-arm and overcome them; My rendring my Person to them, may engage their affections to Me, who have oft professed, *They fought not against Me, but for Me.*

I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyalty: and give them opportunity to let the world see, they mean not what they do, but what they say.

Yet must God be my chiefest Guard, and my Conscience both my Counsellor and my Comforter: Though I put my Body into their hands, yet I shall

ſhall reſerve my Soul to God and my Self; nor ſhall any neceſſities compel Me to deſert mine Honour, or ſwerve from my Judgment.

What they ſought to take by force, ſhall now be given them in ſuch a way of unuſual confidence of them, as may make them aſhamed not to be really ſuch as they ought, and profeſſed to be.

God ſees it not enough to deſert Me of all Military power to defend my Self, but to put Me upon using their power, who ſeem to fight againſt Me, yet ought in duty to defend Me.

So various are all humane affairs, and ſo neceſſitous may the ſtate of Princes be, That their greateſt danger may be in their ſuppoſed ſafety, and their ſafety in their ſuppoſed danger.

I muſt now leave thoſe that have adhered to Me, and apply to thoſe that have oppoſed Me: this method of Peace may be more proſperous then that of War, both to ſtop the effuſion of bloud, and to cloſe thoſe wounds already made: and in it I am no leſs ſolicitous for my Friends ſafety then mine Own; chuſing to venture my Self upon further hazards, rather then expoſe their reſolute Loyaltie to all extremities.

It is ſome skil in play to know when a game is loſt; better fairly to go over, then to conteſt in vain.

I muſt now ſtudy to re-inforce my Judgment, and fortifie my minde with Reaſon and Religion, that I may not ſeem to offer up my Souls libertie, or make my Conſcience their Captive; who ought at firſt to have uſed Arguments, not Arms, to have perſwaded my conſent to their Demands.

I thank God, no ſucceſs darkens or diſguiſes Truth to Me; and I ſhall no leſs conform my words to my inward dictates now, then if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among loyal Subjects, *full of power.*

Reaſon

Reason is the divineſt power. I ſhall never think my ſelf weakned while I may make full and free uſe of that. No eccliſpe of outward Fortune ſhall rob me of that light: what God hath denied of outward ſtrength, his grace, I hope, will ſupply with inward reſolutions; not moroſitie to deny, what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing which Reaſon and Religion bids me to denie.

I ſhall never think my ſelf leſſe then my ſelf, while I am able thus to preſerve the integrity of my Conſcience, the onely Jewel now left me, which is worth keeping.

O Thou Soveraign of our Souls, the onely commander of our Conſciences; though I know not what to do, yet Mine eyes are towards thee: to the protection of thy Mercy I ſtill commend my Self.

As thou haſt preſerved me in the day of Battle, ſo thou canſt ſtill ſhew me thy ſtrength in my weakneſſe.

Be thou unto me in my darkeſt night, a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my horreſt affliction, be alſo a pillar of cloud to over ſhadow and protect me; be to me both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knoweſt that it is not any perverſneſſe of will, but juſt perſwaſions of Honour, Reaſon, and Religion, which have made me thus far to hazard my Perſon, Peace, and Safety, againſt thoſe that by force have ſought to wreſt them from me.

Suffer not my juſt Reſolutions to abide with my outward Forces; let a good Conſcience alwayes accompany me in my ſolitude and deſertions.

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reaſon, *and that fortreſſe of my ſoul, which I am intruſted to keep for thee.*

Lead me in the paths of thy Righteouſneſſe, and ſhew me thy Salvation.

Make my wayes to pleaſe thee, and then thou wilt make mine Enemies to be at peace with me.

23. Upon

23. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the* KING *to the* English, *and His Captivity at* Holmby.

YEt may I juſtifie thoſe *Scots* to all the world in this, that they have not deceived me; for I never truſted to them farther then to men: if I am ſold by them, I am only ſorry they ſhould doe it: and that my price ſhould be ſo much above my Saviours.

Theſe are but further Eſſayes which God will have me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix me on himſelf, who never faileth them that truſt in him; though the Reeds of *Egypt* brake under the hand of him that leans on them, yet the Rock of *Iſrael* will be an everlaſting ſtay and defence.

Gods providence commands me to retire from all to himſelf, that in him I may enjoy my ſelf, which I loſe, while I let out my hopes to others.

The ſolitude and captivity to which I am now reduced, gives me leiſure enough to ſtudy the worlds vanity and inconſtancy.

God ſees 'tis fit to deprive me of wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedom, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black Liſt of irreligious and ſacrilegious Princes.

No Reſtraint ſhall enſnare my ſoul in ſin; nor gain that of me which may make my enemies more inſolent, my Friends aſhamed, or my Name accurſed

They have no great cauſe to triumph, that have got my Perſon into their power; ſince my ſoul is ſtill my own: nor ſhall they ever gaine my Conſent againſt my Conſcience.

What they call obſtinacy, I know God accounts honeſt conſtancy, from which, Reaſon and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid me to recede.

'Tis

'Tis evident now, that it was not evil Counſellors with Me, but a good Conſcience in Me, which hath been fought againſt; nor did they ever intend to bring Me to my Parliament, til they had brought my minde to their obedience.

Should I grant what ſome men deſire, I ſhould be ſuch as they wiſh Me, not more a King, and far leſs both Man and Chriſtian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither ſhall Reſtraint; which though it have as little of ſafety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men ſhall never be my ſnare; nor ſhall the love of any liberty entangle my ſoul: Better others betray Me, then my Self, and that the price of my liberty ſhould be my Conſcience; the greateſt injuries my Enemies ſeek to inflict upon Me, cannot be without my own conſent.

While I can deny with reaſon, I ſhal defeat the greateſt impreſſions of their malice, who neither know how to uſe worthily what I have already granted; nor what to require more of Me but this, That I would ſeem willing to help them to deſtroy my ſelf & mine.

Although they ſhould deſtroy Me, yet they ſhall have no cauſe to deſpiſe Me.

Neither liberty nor life are ſo deer to Me, as the peace of my Conſcience, the honour of my Crowns, and the welfare of my People; which my Word may injure more then any War can do; while I gratifie a few, to oppoſe all.

The Law wil (by Gods bleſſing) revive, with the Love and Loyalty of my Subjects, if I bury them not by my Conſent, and cover them in that grave of diſhonour and injuſtice, which ſome mens violence hath digged for them.

If my Captivitie or death muſt be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miſerable, which car-

carries not with it, his Souls, his Peoples, and Posteritics thraldome,

After times may ſee, what the blindneſſe of this Age will not, and God may at length ſhew my Subjects, that I chuſe rather to ſuffer for them, then with them; happily I might redeem my ſelf to ſome ſhew of liberty, if I would conſent to inſlave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then to confirm many Tyrants over them, from whom I pray God deliver them what ever becoms of me, whoſe ſolitude hath not left me alone.

For thou O God infintiely good, and great, art with me, whoſe preſence is better then life; and whoſe ſervice is perfect freedom,

Own me for thy Servant, and I ſhall never have cauſe to complain for want of that liberty which becomes a Man, a Chriſtian, and a King.

Bleſſe me ſtill with Reaſon as a Man; with Religion as a Chriſtian; and with conſtancy in juſtice, as a King.

Though thou ſuffereſt me to be ſtript of all outward ornaments, yet preſerve me ever in thoſe injoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy ſelf, and which cannot be taken from me againſt my will.

Let no fire of affliction boil over my paſſion to any impatience or ſordid fears.

There may be many ſay of me, there is no help for me: do thou lift up the light of thy Countenance upon me and I ſhall never want ſafety, liberty, or Majeſty.

Give me that meaſure of patience and Conſtancy, which my condition now requires.

My ſtrength is ſcattered, my expectation from men defeated, my Perſon reſtrained; O be not thou far from me, leaſt my Enemies prevail too much againſt me.

I am become a wonder, and a ſcorn to many: O be thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew ſome token upon me for good, that they that hate me

may

may be ashamed, because thou Lord hast holpen and comforted me: establish me with thy free Spirit, that I may do, and suffer thy will, as thou wouldest have me.

Be merciful to me, O Lord, for my soul trusteth in thee: yea, and in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, untill these calamities be overpast.

Arise to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou killest me, yet will I trust in thy mercy, and my Saviours merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadest me through the vail and shadow of death, yet shall I feare none ill.

XXIV. Upon their denying His Majesty the Attendance of His Chaplains.

WHen Providence was pleased to deprive me of all other civil comforts & secular attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best be supplied by the attendance of some of my Chaplains, whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cause to love. By their learning, piety and prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to sustain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in Gods good time: so reaping by their pious help a spiritual harvest of grace amidst the thorns, and after the plowings of temporal crosses.

The truth is, I never needed or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously pious, and soberly devout.

The solitude they have confined me unto, adds the wilderness to my temptations: For, the company they obtrude upon me, is more sad then any solitude can be.

If I had asked my Revenues, my power of the

Militia or any one of my Kingdomes, it had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil policy of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confesse an injurious usurpation. But to deny me the Ghostly comfort of my Chaplains seems a greater rigour and barbarity, then is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners, and greatest Malefactors; whom though the Justice of the law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy, as not aiming at once to destroy their Bodies and to damn their Souls.

But my agony must not be relievd with the presence of any one good Angel; for such I account a learned, godly & discreet Divine: & such I would have all mine to be. They that envy my being a King, are loath I should be a Christian, while they seek to deprive me of all things else, they are afraid I should save my soul.

Other sense, charity it self can hardly pick out of those many harsh repulses I receiv'd, as to that request so often made for the attendance of some of my Chaplains.

I have sometime thought the unchristianesse of those denials might arise from a displeasure some men had to see me preferre my own Divines before their Ministers: whom, though I respect for that worth and piety which may be in them, yet I cannot think them so proper for any present Comforters or Physitians, Who have (some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities and inflicting these wounds upon me.

Nor are the sobereſt of them so apt for that devotionall compliance, and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy offices, to be performed with me and for me; since their judgements standing as a distance from me, or in jealousie of me, or in opposition against me, their Spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with mine, or mine with theirs, either in Prayer or other holy duties, as is meet, and most comfortable

fortable; whose golden rule, and bond of Perfection consists in that of mutuall Love and Charitie.

Some remedies are worse then the disease, & some comforters more miserable then misery it selfe; when like *Jobs* friends, they seek not to fortifie ones mind, with patience: but perswade a man by betraying his own innocency, to despair of Gods mercy, and by justifying their injuries, to strengthen their hands, and harden the hearts of insolent enemies.

I am so much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beseeming that sacred function, that I have hazarded my own interests, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancy to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the sacrilegious eyes of many cruell and rapacious Reformers; so *I* thought it my duty the more to appeare as a Father, and a Patron of them and the Church. Although I am very unhandsomely requited by some of them; who may live to repent no lesse for my sufferings, then their own ungratefull errours, & that injurious contempt and meannes which they have brought upon their callings and persons.

I pity all of them, I despise none; only I thought I might have leave to make choyce of some for my speciall Attendants who were best approved in my judgement, and most sutable to my affection. For I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no mans prayers then to be forced, or seem to comply with those petitions to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own understanding, or belying his own soul.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldnesse, nor pious non-sense; but such an humble and judicious gravity as shews the Speaker to be at once considerate both of Gods Majesty, the Churches Honour, and his own vilenesse; both knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what manner

it becomes a ſinner to ſupplicate the divine mercy for himſelf and others.

I am equally ſcandalized with all Prayers, that ſound either imperiouſly, or rudely and paſſionately; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or reſpect to the duty.

I confeſſe I am better pleaſed, as with ſtudied and premeditated Sermons, ſo with ſuch publick Formes of Prayer, as are fitted to the Churches and every Chriſtians daily and common neceſſities; becauſe I am by them better aſſured, what *I* may joyn my heart unto, then *I* can be of any mans extemporarie ſufficiency: which as *I* do not wholly exclude from publick occaſions; ſo I allow its juſt liberty and uſe in private and devout retirements; where neither the ſolemnity of the duty, nor the modeſt regard to others, do require ſo great exactneſſe as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of underſtanding, and the fervency of affections I hold the main and moſt neceſſary requiſites both in conſtant, and occaſionall, ſolitarie, and ſociall Devotions.

So that I muſt needs ſeem to all equall minds with as much reaſon to prefer the ſervice of my own Chaplains before that of their Miniſters, as I do the Liturgie before their Directorie.

In the one, I have been alwayes educated and exerciſed; In the other, I am not yet catechiſed, nor acquainted. And if *I* were, yet ſhould *I* not by that, as by any certain rule and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of moſt of thoſe men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare compoſure and uſe, which is already as much deſpiſed and diſuſed by many of them, as the Common Prayer ſometimes was by thoſe men; a great part of whoſe pietie hang upon that popular pin of railing againſt, and contemning the Government, and Liturgie of this Church. But, I had rather be condemne

demned to the wo of *Væ ſoli*, than to that of *Væ vobis Hypocritis*, by ſeeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am eſteemed by my Denyers ſufficient of my ſelf to diſcharge my duty to God as a Prieſt, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both offices, Regal and Sacerdotal, might well become the ſame perſon, as anciently they were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better preſidents, if I were able, than thoſe two eminent Kings, *David* and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, than one was for devout Pſalms and Prayers, the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and aſſumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, then any of thoſe the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they ſubdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a ſubjection by the Sword.

Yet ſince the order of Gods wiſdom and providence hath, for the moſt part, alwaies diſtinguiſhed the gifts and offices of Kings, of Prieſts, of Princes & Preachers, both in the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Churches: I am ſorry to find my ſelf reduced to the neceſſity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For, ſuch as ſeek to deprive me of Kingly power and ſoveraignty, would no leſſe enforce me to live many moneths without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unleſſe I become my own Chaplain.

As I owe the Clergie the protection of a Chriſtian King, ſo I deſire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent than my own, or other mens; by how much they flow from minds more

enlightned, and affections leſſe diſtracted, than thoſe which are encombered with ſecular affaires: beſides, I think a greater bleſſing and acceptableneſſe attends thoſe duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have ſpecially deſigned and conſecrated ſome men: And however, as to that ſpirituall Government by which the devout Soul is ſubject to Chriſt, and through his merits daily offers it ſelf and its ſervices to God, every private believer is a King and Prieſt, inveſted with the honour of a Royall Prieſt-hood, yet as to Eccleſiaſticall order, and the outward polity of the Church, I think confuſion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Prieſt or Preacher, as it will in the Sate, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwayes (bred to more modeſt, and I think more pious Principles: the conciouſneſſe to my ſpirituall defects makes me more prize and deſire thoſe pious aſſiſtances, which holy and good Miniſters, either Biſhops or Presbyters, may afford me; eſpecially in theſe extremites, to which God hath been pleaſed to ſuffer ſome of my ſubjects to reduce me; ſo as to leave them nothing more, but my life to take from me: and to leave me nothing to deſire, which I thought might leſſe provoke their jealouſie and offence to deny me than this of having ſome means afforded me for my ſouls comfort and ſupport.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way (that I know) ſcandalous, ſo every way eminent for their learning and piety, no leſſe then for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made againſt them, but onely this, that they may ſeem too able, and too wel affected toward me and my ſervice.

But this is not the firſt ſervice (as I account it the beſt) in which they have forced me to ſerve my ſelf, though I muſt confeſſe I bear with more grief and impa-

impatience the want of my Chaplains, than of any other my ſervants; and next (if not beyond in ſome things) to the being ſequeſtred from my Wife and Children, ſince from theſe indeed more of humane and temporary affections, but from thoſe more of heavenly and eternall improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary ſupplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach me, and help my infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation (as I he will) I ſhall need no other, either Oratour or Inſtructer.

To Thee therefore, O my God, do I direct my now ſolitary prayers; what I want of others help, ſupply with the more immediate aſſiſtances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten My darkneſſe, and quicken My dulneſſe.

O thou Sun of righteouſneſſe, thou ſacred Fountaine of heavenly light and heat, at once clear and warme my heart, both by inſtructing of me, and interceding for me: In thee is all fulneſſe: From thee all ſufficiency: By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be alſo my Prophet and my Prieſt. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me; and be thou ever with me,

The ſingle wreſtlings, of Jacob prevailed with thee, in that ſacred Duell, when he had none to Second him but thy ſelfe; who didſt aſſiſt him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to reſt a bleſſing, from thee.

O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didſt once bleſſe with the joynt and ſociated Devotions of others, whoſe fervency might inflame the coldneſſe of my affections towards thee; when we went to; or met in thy houſe with the voice of joy and gla-

neſſe, worſhipping thee in the unity of ſpirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of thoſe happy opportunities.

It is now thy Pleaſure that I ſhould be as a Pelican in the wilderneſſe, as a ſparrow on the houſe top, and as a coale ſcattered from all thoſe pious glowings, and devout reflections which might beſt kindle, preſerve, and increaſe the holy fire of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, whence the ſacrifice of Prayers, and incenſe of praiſes, might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakeſt not the bruiſed reed, nor quencheſt the ſmoaking flax, do not deſpiſe the weakneſſe of my Prayers, nor the ſmotherings of my ſoule in this uncomfortable loneneſſe; to which I am conſtrained by ſome mens uncharitable denials of thoſe helps, which I much want and no leſſe deſire.

O let the hardneſſe of their hearts occaſion the ſoftnings of mine to thee, and for them; Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreaſonable denials of my Religious deſires the more excite my Prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafneſſe encline thine eare to me, who art a God eaſie to be intreated; thine eare is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard that it will not heare, nor thy hand ſhortned, that it cannot helpe me thy deſolate Supplyant.

Thou permitteſt men to deprive me of thoſe outward means, which thou haſt appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debar me from the Communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breatheſt into humble hearts.

O make me ſuch, and thou wilt teach me, thou wilt heare me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not deſpiſe.

Thou, O Lord canſt at once make me thy Temple, thy Prieſt, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy meditations,

sions, fervent prayers, and unfeigned tears my selfe to thee; who prepareſt me for thee, dwelleſt in me, and acceptest of me.

Thou O Lord didſt cauſe by ſecret ſupplies and miraculous infuſions, that the handfull of meal in the veſſel ſhould not ſpend, nor the little oyl in the cruiſe fail the Widow during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my ſoul, which as a Widow, is now deſolate and forſnkea: let not thoſe ſaving Truths I have formerly learned now fail my memorie; nor the ſweet effuſions of thy Spirit, which I have ſometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholſome food for the refreſhing of my Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuſe then to feed from thoſe hands who mingle my bread with aſhes, and my wine with gall, rather tormenting, then teaching me; whoſe mouths are proner to bitter reproaches of me; than to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord of truth, how oft they wreſt thy holy Scriptures to My deſtruction, which are clear for their ſubjection, and my preſervation, O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knoweſt how ſome men (under colour of long prayers) have ſought to devoure the houſes of their brethren, their King, and their God.

O let not thoſe mens balms break my head, nor their cordials oppreſſe my heart, I will evermore pray againſt their wickedneſſe.

From the poyſon under their tongues, from the ſnares of their lips, from the fire, and the ſwords of their words ever deliver me, O Lord, and all thoſe Loyall and Religious hearts; who deſire and delight in the proſperity of my ſoul, and who ſeek by their prayers to relieve this ſadneſſe; and ſolitude of thy ſervant, O my King and my God.

XXV. Penitentiall Meditations and Vowes in the KINGS ſolitude at *Holmeby*.

GIve eare to my words, O Lord, conſider my Meditation, and hearken to the voice of my crie, my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I ſaid in my haſte, I am caſt out of the ſight of thine eyes; nevertheleſſe thou hear'eſt the voice of my ſupplication, when I crie unto thee.

If thou Lord ſhouldeſt be extream to mark what is done amiſſe, who can abide it? But there is mercy with thee, that thou mayeſt be feared; therefore ſhall ſinners fly unto thee.

I acknowledge my ſins before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beſeech thee, my Perſonal, and my Peoples ſins: which are ſo far mine, as I *have not improved the power thou gaveſt me, to thy glory, and my Subjects good. Thou haſt now brought me from the glory and freedome of a King, to be a Priſoner to my own Subjects: Juſtly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, becauſe in many things I have rebelled againſt thee.*

Though thou haſt reſtrained my Perſon, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards me.

I come far ſhort of Davids *piety; yet ſince I may equal* Davids *afflictions, give me alſo the comforts and the ſure mercies of* David.

Let the penitent ſenſe I have of my ſins, be an evidence to me, that thou haſt pardoned them.

Let not the evils which I and my Kingdoms have ſuffered, ſeem little unto thee; though thou haſt not puniſhed us according to our ſins.

Turn thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercy upon me, for I am deſolate and afflicted.

The

The ſorrowes of my heart are enlarged; O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Haſt thou forgotten to be gracious, and ſhut up thy loving kindneſſe in diſpleaſure?

O remember thy compaſſions of old, and thy loving kindneſſes, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to ſee thy goodneſſe in the land of the living.

Let not the ſinnes of our proſperity deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery tryall conſume the droſſe, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continueſt miſeries, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of proſperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of Juſtice muſt be ſtretched out ſtill; Let it I beſeech thee be againſt me, and my Fathers houſe; as for theſe ſheep, what have they done?

Let my ſufferings ſatiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the meaſure of my charity.

Baniſh from me all thought of Revenge, that I may not loſe the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou giveſt me a heart to forgive them, ſo I beſeech thee do thou forgive what they have done againſt thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou haſt given me an heart to pray unto thee; ſo heare and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember Me, and my Kingdomes; In continuing the light of thy Goſpel, and ſetling thy true Religion among us.

In reſtoring to us the benefit of the Lawes, and the due execution of Juſtice.

In ſuppreſſing the many Schiſmes in Church, and Factions in State:

If thou wilt restore me and mine to the ancient rights and glory of my Predecessours.

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my people to thy selfe in Piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charity.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewell of these Civill warres,

If thou wilt blesse us with the freedome of publick Counsels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the insolencie of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of enacting any thing against my Conscience; and especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapines, and spoylings of thy Church.

If thou wilt restore me to a capacity to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then shall my soul praise thee, and magnifie thy name before my People.

Then shall thy glory be dearer to me then my Crowns; and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power be my chiefest end,

Then will I rule my people with Justice, and my kingdomes with equity.

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever owne as the rightfull successiõn, so the mercifull restauration of My Kingdomes, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring me againe with peace, safety, and honour, to My chiefest City, and my Parliament.

If thou wilt againe put the Sword of Justice into my hand to punish and protect.

Then will I make all the world to see, and my very Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and resolution of Christian charity which I now make unto thee O Lord.

As I do freely pardon for Christs sake those that have offended me in any kind; so my hand shall never be against any man to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injury done to me.

We have been mutually punished in our unnaturall divi-

sions;

viſions; for thy ſake O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purpoſed this in my heart, That I will uſe all meanes in the wayes of amneſty, and indemnity, which may moſt fully remove all fears, and bury all jealouſies in forgetfullneſſe.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my reſolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

Hear my prayer O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips.

Bleſſed be God, who hath not turned a way my prayer nor taken his mercy from me.

O my ſoule commit thy way to the Lord, truſt in him, and he ſhall bring it to paſſe.

But if thou wilt not reſtore me and mine, what am I that I ſhould charge thee fooliſhly?

Thou O Lord haſt given, and thou haſt taken, Bleſſed be thy name.

May my People and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me,

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XXVI. *Upon the Armies Surpriſal of the King at* Holmeby, *and the enſuing diſtractions in the two Houſes, the Army, And the City.*

WHat part God will have me now to act or ſuffer in this new and ſtrange ſcen of affairs, I am not much ſolicitous; ſome little practiſe will ſerve that man, who only ſeekes to repreſent a part of honeſty and honour.

This ſurprize of Me tells the world, that a King cannot be ſo low, but He is conſiderable; adding weight to that Party where he appeares.

This motion, like others of the times, ſeems excentrick and irregular, yet not well to be reſiſted or quieted: Better ſwim down ſuch a ſtream, than in vain to ſtrive againſt it

Theſe

These are but the ſtruglings of thoſe twins, which lately one womb encloſed, the younger ſtriving to prevail againſt the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now ſeek to catch for themſelves.

So impoſſible it is for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, ſo much the wider; by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* ſhould from diviſion fall to confuſion, is no wonder; But for thoſe that pretend to build *Jeruſalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen*; and ſounds too like the fury of thoſe Zealots, whoſe inteſtine bitterneſſe and diviſions were the greateſt occaſion of the laſt fatall deſtruction of that City.

Well may I change my Keepers and Priſon, but not my captive condition, only with this hope of bettering, that thoſe who are ſo much profeſſed Patrons for the peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly againſt the Liberty of their King; what they demand for their own conſciences, they cannot in reaſon deny to mine.

In this they ſeem more ingenuous; than the Preſbyterian rigour, who ſometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to laws, are become the greateſt Exactors of other mens ſubmiſſion to their novel injunctions, before they are ſtamped with the authority of Laws, which they cannot well have without my conſent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themſelves manumitted from their Rivals ſervice, in that they carry on a buſineſſe of ſuch conſequence, as the aſſuming my perſon into the Armies cuſtody, without any Commiſſion, but that of their own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a King, muſt not be thought over-modeſt, or timerous to carry on any deſign they have a mind to. Their

Their next motion menaces, and feares both the two Houſes and the City: which ſoon after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions, (never queſtioned, puniſhed, or repented) muſt now ſuffer for both; and ſee their former ſinne in the glaſſe of the preſent terrours and diſtractions.

No man is ſo blind as not to ſee herein the hand of divine juſtice; they that by Tumults firſt occaſioned the raiſing of Armies, muſt now be chaſtened by their own Army for new tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one ſinne, but adde ſinne to ſinne, till the later puniſh the former; ſuch as were content to ſee Me and many Members of both Houſes driven away by the firſt unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forced to flie to an Army, or defend themſelves againſt them.

But who can unfold the riddle of ſome mens juſtice? the Members of both Houſes who at firſt withdrew, (as my ſelf was forced to do) from the rudeneſſe of the Tumults, were counted Deſertours, and outed of their Places in Parliament.

Such as ſtayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were aſſerted for the only Parliament men: now the Fliers from, and forſakers of their places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complaine highly againſt the Tumults, and vindicate themſelves by an Army: ſuch as remained and kept their ſtations, are looked upon as Abettors of tumultuary inſolencies, and betrayers of the freedome and honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law: where men look more to preſent Advantages than their Conſciences and the unchangeable rules of Juſtice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themſelves.

Now the plea againſt Tumults holds good, the Authours and Abettors of them are guilty of prodigi-

ous

usinsolencie's; when as before, they were counted as Friends and neceſſary Aſſiſtants.

I ſee Vengeance purſues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are ſaid to have done a Biſhop in *Germany*) them that thought to have eſcaped & fortified themſelves moſt impregnably againſt it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will puniſh, by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but obſerve this divine Juſtice, yet with ſorrow and pitie: for, I alwaies wiſhed ſo well to Parliament and City, that I was ſorry to ſee them do or ſuffer any thing unworthy ſuch great and conſiderable bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to ſee them only ſcared and humbled, not broken by that ſhaking: I never had ſo ill a thought of thoſe Cities, as to deſpair of their Loyoltie to me; which miſtakes might eclipſe, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the ſtorm be yet wholly paſſed over them; upon whom I look, as Chriſt did ſometime over *Jeruſalem*, as objects of my praiers and teares, with compaſſionate grief, foreſeeing thoſe ſevere ſcatterings which will certainly befall ſuch as wantonly refuſe to be gathered to their duty: fatall blindneſſe frequently attending and puniſhing wilfulneſſe, ſo that men ſhall not be able at laſt to prevent their ſorrows who would not timely repent of their ſinnes; nor ſhall they be ſuffered to enjoy the comforts, who ſecurely neglect the counſels belonging to their peace. They will find that Brethren in iniquity are not far from becoming inſolent enemies, there being nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it poſſible to gain a fair period for thoſe notions which go rather in a round and circle of fancie, than in a right line of reaſon tending to the Law, the onely center of publike conſiſtencie: whither I pray God at laſt bring all ſides. Which

Which will eaſily be done, when we ſhall fully ſee how much more happy we are, to be ſubject to the known Lawes, then to the various wills of any men, ſeem they never ſo plauſible at firſt.

Vulgar complyance with any illegall and extravagant wayes, like violent motions in nature, ſoon grows weary of it ſelf, and ends in a refractory ſullenneſſe: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who firſt put them upon thoſe violent ſtroaks.

For the Army, (which is ſo farre excuſable, as they act according to Souldiers Principles and Intereſts, demanding Pay and Indemnity) I think it neceſſary, in order to the publike peace, that they ſhould be ſatisfied, as farre as is juſt; no man being more prone to conſider them then my ſelfe: Though they have fought againſt me, yet I cannot but ſo far eſteeme that valour and gallantry they have ſometime ſhewed, as to wiſh I never want ſuch men to maintain my ſelf, my Laws, and my Kingdoms, in ſuch a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their ſhare and proportion as much as any men.

But thou O Lord, who art perfect Vnity in a ſacred Trinity, in mercy behold thoſe, whom thy Juſtice hath divided.

Deliver me from the ſtrivings of my People, and make them to ſee how much they need my Prayers, and pity, who agreed to fight againſt me, and yet are now ready to fight againſt one another to the continuance of my Kingdoms diſtractions.

Diſcover to all ſides the wayes of Peace from which they have ſwarved: which conſiſts not in the divided wills of Partie, but in the point and due obſervation of the Laws.

Make me willing to go whither thou wilt lead me by thy Providence, and be thou ever with me, that I may ſee thy conſtancy in the worlds variety and change.

Make

Make me even such as thou wouldst have me, that I may at last enjoy that safety and tranquility which thou alone canst give me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plenty is prone to adde fewel to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to security, and their security exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, wills to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy glory and the publike peace, lest their calamity come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, That they cannot want enemies who abound in sin; nor shall they be long undisarmed and undestroyed, who with a high hand persisting to fight against thee and the clear convictions of their own consciences, fight more against themselves, than ever they did against me.

Their sinnes exposing them to thy Justice, their riches to others injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardnesse helped to destroy Me, yet let not my fall be their ruine.

Let Me not so much consider, either what they have done, or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate My crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in My dying extremities to pray thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The tears they have denyed Me in My saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves, who the lesse they were for me, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not my blood be upon them and their Children whom the fraud and faction of some, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie Me.

But

But thou, O Lord, canst, and wilt as thou didst my Redeemer, both exalt and perfect me by my sufferings, which have more in them of thy mercy, then of mans cruelty or thy own justice.

XXVII. *To the Prince of* Wales.

SOn, if these Papers with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of my Conscience, and my most impartiall thoughts, touching the chiefe passages which have been most remarkable, or disputed in my late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly designed; they may be so far usefull to you, as to state your judgement aright in what hath passed; whereof, a pious is the best use can be made; and they may also give you some direction, how to remedy the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kind of deceiving and lessening the injury of my long restraint, when I find my leisure and solitude have produced something worthy of my self, and usefull to you; That neither you, nor any other may hereafter measure my Cause by the Succes; nor my Judgement of things by my misfortunes; which I count the greater by farre, because they have so far lighted upon you, and some others, whom I have most cause to love as well as my self; and of whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sense then of mine own.

But this advantage of wisedome you have above most Princes; that you have begun, and now spent some years of discretion, in the experience of troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein Piety, and all Virtues, both Morall and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving as trees set in winter) then in the warmth, and serenity of times; or amidst those

thoſe delights, which uſually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Vertue and Honour, or to be contented only with ſome leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits, ſuch as tend to the Publick good; for which Princes ſhould alwayes remember they are born, and by providene deſigned.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Reboboam*: The one prepared, by many afflictions for a flouriſhing Kingdome, the other ſoftned by the unparallel'd proſperity of *Solomons* Court, and ſo corrupted to the great diminution both for Peace, Honour and Kingdome, by thoſe flatteries which are as unſeperable from proſperous Princes, as flies are from fruit in Summer, whom adverſity, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather you ſhould be *Charles le Bon.* then *le Grand*, good then great; I hope God hath deſigned you to both, having ſo early put you unto that exerciſe of his graces and gifts beſtowed upon you, which may beſt weed out all vicious inclinations, & diſpoſe you to thoſe Princely endowments and employments, which will moſt gain the love, and intend the welfare of thoſe, over whom God ſhall place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Soveraign diſpoſer of the Kingdomes of the world, who pulleth down one, and ſetteth up another.

The beſt Government, and higheſt Soveraignty you can attain to is, to be ſubject to him, that the Scepter of his Word ane Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes conſiſts in advancing Gods glory in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good: Alſo the diſpenſation of civill

vill power, with Juſtice and Honour to the publick Peace.

Piety will make you proſperous; at leaſt it will keep you from being miſerable: nor is he much a loſer, that loſeth all, yet ſaveth his own ſoul at laſt.

To which Center of true Happineſſe, God, I truſt, hath and will graciouſly direct all theſe black lines, of affliction, which he hath been pleaſed to draw on me, and by which he hath (I hope drawn me nearer to himſelf. You have already taſted of that cup whereof I have liberally drank, which I look upon as Gods Phyſick, having that in healthfulneſſe, which it wants in pleaſure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already; well grounded and ſetled in your Religion: The beſt Profeſſion of which, I have ever eſteemed that of the Church of *England*, in which you have been educated: yet I would have your own Judgement and Reaſon now ſeal to that ſacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciouſly your own Religion, and not other mens cuſtome or traditiou, which you profeſſe.

In this I charge you to perſevere, as coming neareſt to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the primitive examples for Government, with ſome little amendment, which I have otherwhere expreſſed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more neceſſary for your ſouls, then your Kingdomes peace, when God ſhall bring you to them.

For I have obſerved, that the Devill of Rebellon, doth commonly turne himſelf into an Angell of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When ſome mens Conſciences accuſe them, for Sedition and Faction, they ſtop its mouth with the name and noiſe of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out Zeal.

So

So that, unleſſe in this point you be well ſetled, you ſhall never want temptations to deſtroy you and yours, under pretencions of reforming matters of Religion; for that ſeems even to worſt men, as the beſt and moſt auſpicious beginning of their worſt deſignes.

Where, beſides the Novelty which is taking enough with the vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by ſeeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought zealous; hoping to cover thoſe irreligious deformities, whereto they are conſcious by a ſeverity of cenſuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publike Diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your Judgement, and the Church well ſetled; your partiall adhering, as head, to any one ſide, gains you not ſo great advantages in ſome mens hearts, (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as he loſeth you in others; who think themſelves, and their Profeſſion firſt deſpiſed, then perſecuted by you: Take ſuch a courſe as may either with calmneſſe and charity quite remove the the ſeeming differences and offences by impartiality, or ſo order affairs in point of power that you ſhall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever you ſtand in need of them, or muſt ſtand to their courteſie, you are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove: you may never expect leſſe of Loyalty, Juſtice, or Humanity, then from thoſe who engage into Religious Rebellion; Their intereſt is alwayes made Gods; under the colours of Piety, ambitious Policies march, not only with greateſt ſecurity, but applauſe, as to the populacie; you may heare from them *Jacobs* voyce, but you ſhall feele they have *Eſaus* hands.

Nothing

Nothing ſeemed leſſe conſiderable then the Preſbyterian Faction in *England*, for many years; ſo compliant they were to publike order: nor indeed was their Party great either in Church or State, as to mens judgments: But as ſoon as diſcontent drave men into Sidings (as ill humours fall to the diſaffected part, which cauſes inflammations) ſo did all, at firſt, who affected any novelties, adhere to that Side, as the moſt remarkable & ſpecious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the leſſer Factions at firſt were officious Servants to Presbyterie their great Maſter: till time and military ſucceſſe diſcovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to partſtakes, and leaving the joynt ſtock of uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not only of the Church and State, but even of Presbyterie it ſelf, which ſeemed and hoped at firſt to have ingroſſed all.

Let nothing ſeem little or deſpicable to you, in matters which concern Religion and the Churches peace, ſo as to neglect a ſpeedy reforming and effectual ſuppreſſing Errours and Schiſmes, which ſeem at firſt but as a hand-breadth, by ſeditious ſpirits (as by ſtrong winds) are ſoon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done juſtice to God, your own ſoul and his Church, in the profeſſion and preſervation both of truth and unity in Religion: the next main hinge on which your proſperity will depend and move, is that of civil Juſtice, wherein the ſetled Laws of theſe Kingdoms to which you are rightly Heire, are the moſt excellent rules you can govern by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects induſtry, liberty & happines; and yet reſerve enough to the Majeſty & Prerogative of any King, who owns his people as Subjects, not as ſlaves:

whoſe

whose subjection, as it preserves their property, peace, and safety; so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties, which consists in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industrie, and the benefit of those Lawes to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your Head with such a Crown, as shall by its heavinesse oppresse the whole body, the weaknesse of whose parts cannot return any thing of strength, honour, or safety to the Head, but a necessary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is best shewed and exercised in remitting, rather then exacting the rigour of the Laws; there being nothing worse then Legal Tyrannie.

In these two points, the preservation of establisht Religion and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of my sufferings, as to the worlds censure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdome, as to the testimony of my own Conscience: the Troublers of my Kingdomes having nothing else to object against me, but this, That *I* preferre Religion and Lawes establisht, before those alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, than what hitherto have been chiefly used towards me; Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will You, That it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the publike interest, and the good of the Communitie.

How God will deal with me, as to the removall of these pressures and indignities, which his justice by the very unjust hands of some of my Subjects hath been pleased to lay upon me; I cannot tell; nor am I much

much solicitous what wrong I suffer from men, while I retain in my soule, what I beleeve is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reason, Honour and conscience I can: reserving onely what I cannot consent unto, without an irreparable injury to My own Soule, the Church, and My People, and You also as the next and undoubted Heir of My Kingdomes.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time after My decease bring you as I hope he will; My counsell and charge to You is, That You seriously consider the former, reall, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any mans single counsell, fidelity and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in Your self or others, a diffidence of Your own judgment, which is likely to be alwayes more constant and impartiall to the interests of Your Crown and Kingdome than any mans.

Next, beware of exasperating any Factions by the crosnesse and asperitie of some mens passions, humours, or private opinions imployed by You, grounded onely upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skerts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Christian toleration often dissipats their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifies; and puts the displeased and oppressed Party, into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutours, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration which attendeth all, that are laid to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Lawes and Government or Religion established, as to the essentials of them, such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwaies keep up solid piety, and so the fundamental Truths, (which mend both hearts and lives of men,) with impartiall favour and justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the best incouragements of learning, industry and piety; but with an equall eye, and impartial hand, distribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their reall goodnesse both in abilities and fidelitie worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gaine you the hearts of the best, and the most too; who, though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer ways of virtue at any time sweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, you see, conflicted with different and opposite Factions; for so I must needs call and count all those, that act not in any conformity to the Laws established in Church and State,) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their common Enemy, (that is, all those that adhered to the Laws and to me,) and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivalrie, as sets them more at defiance against each other, then against their first Antagonists.

Time will dissipate all factions when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious designes, shall discover themselves; which were at first wrapt up and hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation and Libertie: As the Wolf is not lesse cruell, so he will be more justly hated, when he shall appear no better than a Wolf under sheeps cloathing.

But as for the seduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their simplicity follow those disguises; My charge and counsel to You is, That as you need no palliations for any designs (as other men) so that you study really to exceed (in true and constant demonstrations of goodnesse, piety & virtue, towards the People) even all those men, that make the greatest noise and ostentations of Religion; so You shall neither fear any detection, (as they do who have but the face and mask of goodnesse) nor shall you frustrate the just expectations of your People; who cannot in Reason promise themselves so much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the vertuous constancie of their King.

When these mountains of congealed factions shall by the sunshine of Gods mercy, and the splendor of your virtues, be thawed and dissipated, and the abused Vulgar shall have learned, that none are greater Oppressours of their Estates, Liberties, and Consciences, than those men, that entitle themselves, The Patrones and Vindicators of them onely to usurp power over them; Let then no passion betray you to any study of revenge upon those, whose own sinne and folly will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, use all Princely arts and clemencie to heal the wounds; that the smart of the cure may not equal the anguish of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indempnity and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws, and which might serve to exclude all future jealousies and insecurities.

I would have you alwaies propense to the same way, whenever it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted, nor onely as an Act of State-policie

and neceſſity but of Chriſtian charity and choice.

It is all I have now left me, a power to forgive thoſe, that have deprived me of all; and I thank God, I have a heart to do it; and joy as much in this grace which God hath given me, as in all my former enjoyments: for this is a greater argument of Gods love to me, then any proſperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the moſt of all ſides, who have done amiſſe have done ſo; not out of malice, but miſ-information, or miſ-apprehenſion of things.

None will be more loyall and faithfull to me and you, than thoſe ſubjects, who ſenſible of their Errours, and our injuries, will feele in their owne ſouls moſt vehement motives to repentance, and earneſt deſires to make ſome reparations for their former defects.

As your quality ſets you beyond any Duel with any ſubject, ſo the nobleneſſe of your mind muſt raiſe you above the meditating any revenge, or executing your anger upon the many.

The more conſcious you ſhall be to your own merits, upon your people, the more prone you will be to expect all love and loyalty from them, and to inflict no puniſhment upon them for former miſcarriages: You will have more inward complacencie in pardoning one, than in puniſhing a thouſand.

This I write to you, not deſpairing of Gods mercy and my ſubjects affections towards you; both which I hope you will ſtudy to deſerve, yet we cannot merit of God, but by his own mercie.

If God ſhall ſee fit to reſtore me, and you after me, to thoſe enjoyments, which the Laws have aſſigned to us; and no ſubjects without an high degree of guilt and ſinne can deveſt us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I ſhall be ſo happy to ſee you in peace, to let you more fully underſtand the

things that belong to Gods glory, your own honour, and the kingdoms peace.

But if you never see my face again, and God will have me buried in such a barbarous imprisonment & obscurity, (which the perfecting of some mens designs require) wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with me: I do require and intreat you as your Father, and your King, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of *England*.

I tell you I have tried it, and after much search and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world; not onely in the Community, as Christian, but also in the speciall notion; as Reformed: keeping the middle way between the pomp of superstitious Tyranny, and the meanness of phantastick Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the maine, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) some lines, as in very good figures, may happily need some sweetning, or polishing; wich might here have easily been done by a safe and gentle hand; if some mens precipitancie had not violently demanded such rude alterations, as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The scandall of the late troubles, which some may object, and urge to you against the Protestant Religion established in *England*, is easily answered to them, or your own thoughts in this, That scarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Prosecutor of this late Warre against the Church, the Laws, and me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiser of the Protestant Religion, Established in *England*: which neither gives such Rules, nor ever before set such examples.

Tis true, some heretofore had the boldnesse to present threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse Spirits,) have now put in execution; but let not counterfeit and disorderly zeal abate your value and esteem of true pietie, both of them are to be known by their fruits: the sweetnesse of the Wine and Fig-tree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thorns should pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any aversation, or dislike of Parliaments; which in their right constitution with Freedome and Honour, will never injure or diminish your greatnesse, but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyalty and confidence, between a Prince and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament, have been other then such (however much blasted by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular dictates; and tumultuary impressions: The sad effects which will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preserve that Freedome, and Honour, which belongs to such Assemblies, (when once they have fully shaken off this yoke of vulgar encroachment) since the publike interest consists in the mutuall and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, then in faire, grave and Honourable wayes to contribute their Councels in Common, enacting all things by publick consent; without tyranny or tumult. We must not starve our selves, because some men have surfeited of wholesome food.

And if neither I, nor you, be ever restored to our Rights, but God in his severest Justice, will punish my Subjects with continuance in their sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickednesse;

kedneſſe; I hope God will give Me, and You, that grace, which will teach and enable us to want, as well as to wear a Crown; which is not worth taking up or enjoying, upon ſordid, diſhonourable, and irreligious tearms.

Keep you to true principles of piety, vertue and honour, You ſhall never want a Kingdom.

A principal point of your Honour will conſiſt in your deferring all reſpect, love, and protection to your Mother, my Wife; who hath many wayes deſerved well of me, and chiefly in this, that having been a means to bleſſe me with ſo many hopeful Children, (all which, with their mother, I recommend to your love and care) She hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to ſuffer both for, and with Me, and You.

My prayer to God Almighty is, (whatever becomes of me, who am, I thank God, wrapt and fortified in my own Innocency, and his Grace) that he would be pleaſed to make You an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to theſe toſſed and weather-beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer by your wiſdome, juſtice, piety, and valour, of what the folly and wickedneſſe of ſome men have ſo far ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons; either as to Laws, Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Honour, Conſcience, or Lives.

When they have deſtroyed me, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and cruelty of my enemies to proceed, and ſuch apprehenſions ſome mens words and actions have already given me) as I doubt not but my blood will crie aloud for vengeance to heaven; ſo I beſeech God not to poure out his wrath upon the generality of the People, who have either deſerted me, or engaged againſt me, through the artifice and hypocriſie of their Leaders, whoſe in-

ward horrour will be their first Tormentor, nor will they escape exemplary judgements.

For those that love me, I pray God, they may have no misse of me, when I am gone; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of your presence and virtues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty toward me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian KING, so I beleeve you will find them truly zealous, to repay with interest that loyalty and love to you, which was due to me.

In summe, what good I intended, do you performe: when God shall give you power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This mask of Religion on the face of rebellion, (for so it now plainly appears, since my restraint and cruell usage, that they sought not for me as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend you, wherein your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their sin and their infelicity.

I pray God blesse you and establish your Kingdomes in righteousnesse, your Soul in true Religion, and your honour in the love of God and your people.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by my destruction, let my memory ever, with my name, live in you, as of your Father that loves you: and once a KING of three flourishing Kingdomes: whom God thought fit to honour, not only with the Scepter and Government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; which I studied to preserve the rights of the

Church

Church, the power of the Laws, the honour of my Crown, the Priviledge of Parliaments, the Liberties of my people, and my owne Conſcience, which, I thank God, is dearer to me then a thouſand kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope he yet will reſtore me to my Rights. I cannot deſpair either of his mercie, or of my peoples love and pity.

At worſt, I truſt I ſhall but go before you to a better kingdom, which God hath prepared for me, and me for it, through my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt: to whoſe mercies I commend you and all mine.

Farewell, till we meet, if not on earth, yet in heaven.

Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-addreſſes, and His Majeſties cloſer Impriſonment in Carisbrook-*Caſtle.*

AS I have leiſure enough, ſo *I* have cauſe more then enough to meditate upon and prepare for my Death: for *I* know, there are but few ſteps between the Priſons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which gives me the ſpace, but mans cruelty that gives me the ſad occaſions for theſe thoughts.

For, beſides the common burthen of mortality, which lies upon me as a man; I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, feares, Jealouſies and cruell paſſions, whoſe envy or enmity againſt me, makes their own lives ſeem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of mine.

I thank God, my proſperity made me not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortality.

Thoſe are never unſeaſonable, ſince this is alwayes uncertain; Death being an eclipſe which oft

oft happeneth as well in clear, as cloudy dayes.

But my now long and ſharp adverſity hath ſo reconciled in me thoſe naturall Antipathies between life and death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrors of it are diſpelled; and the ſpeciall horrour of it, as to my particular, much allayed: for, although my death at preſent may juſtly be repreſented to me with all thoſe terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruell and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I bleſſe God, I can look upon all thoſe ſtings, as unpoyſonous, though ſharp; ſince my Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given me the antidote of his death againſt them; which as to the immaturity, injuſtice, ſhame, ſcorn, and cruelty of it exceeded, whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did find ſo much, the life of Religion, the feaſt of a good conſcience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and conſtancy, as ſince I came to theſe cloſer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not ſo old, as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) ſo bad; as to be either afraid to die, or aſhamed to live: true, I am ſo afflicted, as might make me ſometime even deſire to die; if I did not conſider, That it is the greateſt glory of a Chriſtians life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, thoſe partiall and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piece-meals, and make us ſoverlive our own fates; while we are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, ſafety, or eſtate; and thoſe other comforts of deareſt relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a King, I think my ſelf to live in nothing temporal ſo much, as in the love & good-will of my people; for which, as I have ſuffered many deaths, ſo I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead:

not-

notwithstanding, my enemies have used all the poyson of falsity and violence of hostility to destroy, first the Love and Loyalty, which is in my Subjects: and then all that content of life in me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left me but little of life, and only the husk and shell, (as it were,) which their further malice and cruelty can take from me; having bereaved me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But, O my soule! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God give thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in a good cause, as are the greatest honour of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Christian valour, it argues pusillanimity, to desire to die out of wearines of life; and a want of that heroick greatnesse of spirit which becomes a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us while we are in this body; and which are lessened or enlarged as the Sunne of our prosperity moves higher, or lower, whose totall absence is best recompensed with the Dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampsons* Lyon, but they yield much sweetnesse to those, that dare to encounter and overcome them: who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishnes, while they may yet converse with God.

That I must die as a Man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of my own Subjects, a violent, sudden and barbarous death; in the strength of my years, in the midst of my Kingdomes, my Friends and loving Subjects being helplesse Spectators; my

Enemie-

Enemies insolent Revilers, and triumphers over me, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane reason, that God hath taught me not to hope otherwise, as to mans cruelty; however, I despaire not of Gods infinit mercy.

I know My Life is the object of the Devils and wicked mens malice; but yet under Gods sole custody and disposall: Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by seeming prepared to die; but I humbly desire to depend upon him, and to submit to his will both in life and death, in what order soever he is pleased to lay them out to me. I confesse it is not easie for me to contend with those many horrours of death, wherewith God suffers me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the suddennesse of a barbarous Assasination or in those greater formalities, whereby my Enemies (being more solemnly cruel) will, it may be, seek to add (as those did, who crucified Christ) the mockery of Justice, to the cruelty of Malice: That I may be destroyed as with greater pomp and artifice, so with lesse pitie, it will be but a necessary policy to make my death appear as an act of Justice, done by Subjects upon their Soveraigne; who know that no Law of God or man invests them with any power of Judicature without me, much lesse against me: and who, being sworne and bound by all that is sacred before God and man, to endeavour my preservation, must pretend Justice to cover their perjurie.

It is indeed a sad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be Accusers, Parties, and Judges; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subjects against their Soveraigne; wherein those, who have had the chiefest hand, and are most guilty of contriving the publick Troubles, must by shedding My bloud seem to wash their own hands of that innocent bloud, whereof they are now most evidently guilty before God and man; and I believe in their own consciences

ces too, while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes mean spirits more cowardly-cruel in managing their usurped power against their lawfull Superiours, than this, the *guilt of their unjust usurpation*, notwithstanding, those specious and popular pretensions of Justice, against Delinquents, applied only to disguise at first, the monstrousnesse of their designes, who despaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heyre whose Right it is be cast out and slain.

With them, my greatest fault must be, that *I* would not either destroy my self with the Church and State by my word or not suffer them to do it unresisted by the Sword; whose covetous ambition no Concessions of mine could ever yet satisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that Kingdom of brambles, which some men seek to erect (at once, weak, sharp and fruitlesse, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royall blood of those whose right the Kingdome is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but my innocency will find him both my Protector, and my Advocate, who is my only Judge, whom *I* own as King of Kings, not only for the eminencie of his Power and Majesty above them; but also for that singular care and protection, which he hath over them, who knows them to be exposed to as many dangers, (being the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order and Religion on earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones and cement it with the blood of their Kings.

I am confident they will find Avengers of my death among themselves: the injuries *I* have sustained

faults and errours of their Princes; especially there, where more then sufficient satisfaction hath been made to the publick; the enjoyment of which private ambitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others, I beleeve of softer tempers, and lesse advantaged by my ruine, do already feel sharp convictions, and some remorse in their consciences; where they cannot but see the proportions of their evil dealings against me in the measure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of pairing others nails been so cruell as to cut off their chiefest strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate may be like that of *Korah* and his Complices, (at once mutining against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of divine Justice as is not ordinary, the earth of the lowest and meanest People opening upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdain of their ill gotten and worse used Authority: upon whose support and strength they chiefly depended for their building and establishing their designs against me, the Church and State.

My chiefest comfort in death consists in my peace, which I trust, is made with God; before whose exact Tribunal I shall not fear to appear, as to the cause so long disputed by the sword, between me & my causelesse Enemies: where I doubt not but his righteous judgment will confute their fallacy, who from worldly success (rather like Sophisters then sound Christians) draw those popular conclusions for Gods approbation of their actions, whose wise providence, we know,) oft permits many events, which his revealed Word, the only clear, safe and fixed rule of good actions and good consciences in no sort approves.

I am confident the Justice of my Cause, and clearnesse of my Conscience before God and toward my people.

people will carry me, as much above them in Gods decision, as their successes have lifted them above me in the vulgar opinion: who consider not, that many times those undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the prosperity and applause of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousnesse and oppression of the design. The prosperous winds which oft fill the sails of Pirats, doth not justifie their Piracy and Rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worsted in my enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Lawes of the Land, the freedome and honour of Parliaments, the rights of my Crown, the just liberty of my Subjects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government, and due encouragements; then if I had, with the greatest advantages of successe, overborne them all; as some men have now evidently done, whatever designes they at first pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I shall more chearfully take, and drink as from Gods hand (if it must be so) then they can give it mee, whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against me.

And as to the last event, I may seem to owe more to my Enemies, than my Friends; while those will put a period to the sins and sorrows attending this miserable life; wherewith these desire, I might still contend.

I shall be more then Conquerour through Christ enabling me; for whom I have hitherto suffered, as he is the Author of Truth, Order and Peace, for all which I have been forced to contend against Errour, Faction and Confusion.

If

If I must suffer a violent death, with my Saviour, it is but mortality crowned with martyrdome: where the debt of death, which I owe for sin to nature, shall be raised, as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept: and although death be the wages of my own sin, as from God, and the effect of others sins, as men, both against God and me; yet as I hope my own sins are so remitted, that they shall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death, so I desire God to pardon their sinnes, who are most guilty of my destruction.

The Trophees of my charity will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill-managed victories over me.

Though their sin be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: Both which I pray God they may obtain, that my temporal death unjustly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods just inflicting eternal death upon them: for I look upon the temporal destruction of the greatest King, as far lesse deprecable, than the eternal damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor do I wish other, then the safe bringing of the ship to shore, when they have cast me overboard: though it be very strange, that Mariners can find no other means to appease the storm themselves have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, my Enemies cruelty cannot prevent my preparation; whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed my Soule with my Body: of whose salvation, while some of them have themselves seemed, and taught others to despair, they have only discovered this, that they do not much desire it.

Whose

Whose uncharitable and cruel Restraints, denying me even the assistance of any of my Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, then any way obstructed my accesse to the Throne of Heaven.

Where thou dwellest O King of Kings; who fillest Heaven and Earth, who art the fountain of eternall life in whom is no shadow of death.

Thou, O God, art both the just Afflicter of death upon us, and the mercifull Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our selves, and live in thee, then by living in our selves to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of my death as a Man and a King; the opportunities and advantages of thy speciall graces and comforts in my Soule, as a Christian.

If thou Lord wilt be with me, I shall neither fear nor feel any evill, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weake and mortall man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone who art the Almighty and immortall God.

O My Saviour, who knowest what it is to die with Me, as a Man; make me to know, what it is to passe through death to life with thee my God.

Though I die, yet I know, that thou my Redeemer livest for ever: though thou slayest me, yet thou hast incouraged me to trust in thee for eternall life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better then life.

O be not farre from me, for I know not how neere a violent and cruell death is to me.

As thy Omniscence, O God, discovers: so thy Omnipotence can defeat the designes of those, who have, or shall conspire my destruction.

O shew me the goodnesse of thy will, through the wickednesse of theirs.

Thou givest me leave as a man to pray, that this cup may passe from me; but thou hast taught me as a Christian by the example of Christ to adde, not my will, but thine be done.

Yea Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly resolving mine into thine: let not the desire of life in me be so great, as that of doing or suffering thy will in either life or death.

As I believe thou hast forgiven all the errours of my life, so I hope thou wilt save me from the terrours of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to injoy all in thee, who hast made Christ unto me in life, gain; and in death, advantage.

Though my Destroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my bloud or in their gaining my Kingdomes, if they lose their own Souls?

Such as have not onely resisted my just Power, but wholly usurped and turned it against my selfe, though they may deserve, yet let them not receive to themselves damnation.

Thou madest thy Son a Saviour to many, that Crucified Him; while at once he suffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his bloud be heard for My Murtherers, louder than the cry of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions of their sinne, and let them not at once deceive and damn their own Souls by fallacious pretensions of Justice in destroying me, while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against me, chiefly tempts them to use all extremities against me.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to me as very false, so very cruel, who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deal not with them as bloudy-thirsty and deceitful men; but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion and my charity.

And when thou makest inquisition for my bloud, O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent souls with the bloud of thy Son, that thy destroying Angel may passe over them.

Though they think my Kingdomes on earth too little to entertain at once both them and me, yet let the capacious Kingdom of thine infinite mercy at last receive both me, and my enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the bloud of the same Redeemer, we shal live far above those ambitious desires, which beget such mortal enemies.

When their hands shall be heaviest and cruellest upon me, O let me fall into the Arms of thy tender and eternal mercies

That what is cut off of my life in this miserable moment, may be repayed in thy ever-blessed eternity.

Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

FINIS.

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FINIS.

Beatam et Æternam
Gloria
Cœli Specto
Asperam at Levem
IN VERBO TUO SPES MEA
Gratia
Christi Tracto
Splendidam at Gravem
Anitas
Mundi Calco
P

Εἰκὼν Βασιλική

THE POURTRAICTURE OF HIS SACRED MAIESTIE IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SUFFERINGS.

Rom. 8.
More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & malapati, Regium est.

Printed Anno Dom. 1648.

Etkov Basilikh

THE POURTRAICTURE OF HIS SACRED MAJESTIE IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SUFFERINGS.

Rom. 3.
More then Conqueror, &c.

Bona agere, & malapati, Regium est.

Printed Anno Dom. 1548.

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Reader,

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

1. *Upon His Majeſties calling this laſt Parliament.*

THis laſt Parliament I called, not more by others advice, and neceſſity of My affaires, then by My owne choice and inclination; who have alwaies thought the right way of Parliaments moſt ſafe for My Crown, and beſt pleaſing to My People: And although I was not forgetfull of thoſe ſparks, which ſome mens diſtempers formerly ſtudied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for ſome yeares, I hoped to have extinguiſhed) yet reſolving with My ſelf to give all juſt ſatisfaction to modeſt and ſober deſires, and to redreſſe all publique grievances in Church and State; I hoped by My (freedome and their moderation) to prevent all miſunderſtandings, and miſcarriages in this: In which as I feared affaires would meet with ſome paſſion and prejudice in other men, ſo I reſolved they ſhould find leaſt of them in My ſelfe; not

doubting, but by the weight of Reaſon I ſhould counterpoize the over-ballancings of any factions.

I was, indeed, ſorry to heare, with what partiality and popular heat Elections were carried in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and diſcretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament, (guiding ſome mens wel-meaning zeale by ſuch rules of moderation as are beſt both to preſerve and reſtore the health of all States and Kingdomes:) No man was better pleaſed with the convening of this Parliament, then My ſelf; who knowing beſt the largeneſſe of My owne Heart toward My Peoples good and juſt contentment, pleaſed My ſelf moſt in that good and firme underſtanding, which would hence grow between Me and My People.

All Jealouſies being laid aſide, My owne and my Childrens Intereſts gave me many obligations to ſeek and preſerve the love and welfare of my Subjects. The onely temporall bleſſing that is left to the ambition of juſt Monarchs, as their greateſt honour and ſafety, next Gods protection; I cared not to leſſen my ſelfe in ſome things of My wonted Prerogative; ſince I knew I could be no loſer, if I might gaine but a recompence in My Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, but

but Mine enemies alſo : exceeding even the deſires of thoſe, that were factiouſly diſcontented if they did but pretend to any modeſt and ſober ſenſe.

The *odium* and offences which ſome mens rigour or remiſſneſſe in Church, and State, had contracted upon my Government, I reſolved to have expiated by ſuch Lawes, and regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amiſſe in practiſe, but ſupply what was defective in the conſtitution : No man having a greater zeale to ſee Religion ſettled, and preſerved in Truth, Unity, and Order then My ſelfe ; whom it moſt concernes both in piety, and policy ; as knowing that, No flames of civil diſſentions are more dangerous then thoſe which make Religious pretenſions the grounds of Factions.

I reſolved to reforme, what I ſhould by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amiſſe ; and to grant whatever My Reaſon and Conſcience told Me was fit to be deſired ; I wiſh I had kept my ſelf within thoſe bounds, and not ſuffered My owne Judgement to have been over-borne in ſome things, more by others Importunities, than their Arguments ; My confidence had leſſe betrayed My ſelfe, and My Kingdomes, to thoſe Advantages, which ſome men ſought for, who wanted nothing but power, and occaſion to do miſchief.

But our ſinnes being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Juſtice, from reaping that glory in our Calamities, which we robb'd him of in our Proſperity.

For thou (O Lord) haſt made us ſee, that Reſolutions of future Reforming doe not alwayes ſatisfie thy Juſtice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miſcarriages.

Our ſinnes have over-laid our hopes; Thou haſt taught us to depend on thy mercie: to forgive, not on our purpoſe to amend.

VVhen thou haſt vindicated thy glory by thy Judgements, and haſt ſhewed us how unſafe it is to offend thee, upon preſumptions afterwards to pleaſe thee: Then I truſt thy mercies will reſtore thoſe bleſſings to us which wee have ſo much abuſed, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our ſins, Thou giveſt us cauſe to Repent of thoſe Remedies we too late apply.

Yet I doe not Repent of My calling this laſt Parliament, becauſe O Lord, I did it with an upright intention to Thy glory, and My Peoples good.

The miſeries which have enſued upon Me and My Kingdoms, are the juſt effects of thy diſpleaſure upon us; and may be yet through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future bleſſings and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though hou haſt deprived us o

many former comforts; yet grant Me and My people the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements; that thy rod as well as thy staffe may comfort us: Then shall we dare to account them the strokes not of an Enemie, but a Father: when thou givest us those humble affections, that measure of patience in repentance which becomes thy Children; I shal have no cause to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought Me and My people unfeignedly to repent of the sinnes we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings then our Peace could be with Our sins

O thou soveraign goodness and wisdom, who Over-rulest all our Counsels; over-rule also al our hearts; That the worse things we suffer by thy Iustice, the better we may be by thy Mercy.

As our sinnes have turned our Antidotes into Poyson, so let thy Grace turne our Poysons into Antidotes.

As the sins of our Peace disposed us to this unhappy Warre, so let this VVarre prepare us for thy blessed Peace.

That although I have but troublesome Kingdomes here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in My Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Christ hath purchased, & thou wilt give to thy servant (though a Sinner for my Saviours sake, Amen.

2. *Upon the Earle of* Straffords *death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to employ him, in the greatest affaires of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errours, and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a spheare, and with so vigorous a lustre, hee must needs (as the Sun) raise many envions exhalations, which condensed by a popular *odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in My Judgement approve all hee did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of times, and the Temper of that People, more then led by his owne disposition to any height and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousnesse in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affaires, then in the businesse of that unfor-

unfortunate Earle: when between My owne unsatisfiednesse in Conscience, and a necessity (as some told me) of satisfying the importunities of some people I was perswaded by those, that I think wished me well, to chuse rather what was safe, then what seemed just; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactnesse of Conscience before God.

And indeed I am so farre from excusing or denying that complyance on My part (for plenary consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in My Judgement I thought not, by any cleare Law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of Conscience with greater regret: which, as a signe of My repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and men, as an act of so sinfull frailty, that it discovered more a feare of Man, than of God, whose name and place on Earth no man is worthy to beare, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of so high injustice, as no publique convenience can expiate or compensate.

I see it a bad exchange to wound a mans owne Conscience, thereby to salve State sores; to calme the stormes of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a mans owne bosome.

Nor hath Gods Justice failed in the event

and ſad conſequences, to ſhew the world the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man periſh (though unjuſtly) then the people be diſpleaſed, or deſtroyed.* For,

In all likelyhood I could never have ſuffred, with My People, greater calamites, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford's* innocency, at leaſt by denying to Signe that deſtructive B I I. L, according to that Juſtice, which My Conſcience ſuggeſted to Me, then I have done ſince I gratified ſome mens unthankful importunities with ſo cruell a favour. And I have obſerved that thoſe, who counſelled Me to ſigne that Bill, have been ſo farre from receiving the rewards of ſuch ingratiatings with the People, that no men have been haraſſed and cruſhed more than they: He onely hath been leaſt vexed by them who counſelled Me, not to conſent againſt the vote of My owne Conſcience. I hope God hath forgiven Me and them, the ſinfull raſhneſſe of that buſineſſe.

To which being in My ſoule ſo fully conſcious, thoſe Judgements God hath pleaſed to ſend upon Me, are ſo much the more welcome; as a meanes (I hope) which his mercy hath ſanctified ſo to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjuſt Act, (for ſo it was to Me) and for the future to teach Me, That the beſt rule of policy is to preferre the doing of Juſtice, before

before all enjoyments, and the peace of My Conſcience before the preſervation of My Kingdomes.

Nor hath any thing more fortified My reſolutions againſt all thoſe violent importunities, which ſince have ſought to gaine alike conſent from Me, to Acts, wherein my Conſcience is unſatisfied, then the ſharp touches I have had for what paſſed Me, in My Lord of *Strafford*'s Buſineſſe.

Not that I reſolved to have employed him in My affaires, againſt the advice of My Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whoſe Guiltleſneſſe I was better aſſured, then any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected againſt him ſo cleare, as after a long and faire hearihg to give convincing ſatisfaction to the Major part of both Houſes; eſpecially that of the Lords, of whom ſcarce a third part were preſent, when the Bill paſſed that Houſe: And for the Houſe of Commons, many Gentlemen, diſpoſed enough to diminiſh My Lord of *Strafford*'s greatneſſe and power, yet unſatisfied of his guilt in Law, durſt not condemne him to dies: who for their integrity in their Votes, were by Polling their Names, expoſed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fury; which grew then ſo exorbitant in their clamours *for Juſtice*, (that is, to have both my ſelfe and the two

Houſes Vote, and doe as they would have us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concurre with the condemning party, then ſatisfied that of right they ought ſo to doe.

And that after Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation, ſufficiently tells the world, that ſome remorſe touched even his moſt implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would be very loath ſhould be repeated to themſelves.

This tenderneſſe and regret I find in my ſoul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knowes) in ſhedding one mans bloud unjuſtly, (though under the colour and formalities of Juſtice and pretences of avoyding publick miſchiefes) which may (I hope) be ſome evidence before God and Man, to all Poſterity, that I am far from bearing juſtly the vaſt load & guilt of all that bloud which hath been ſhed in this unhappy Warre; which ſome men will needs charge on *Me*, to eaſe their owne ſoules, who am, and ever ſhall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjuſtly, then to loſe my owne.

But thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive mee that act of ſinfull compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon Me then any man. Since I had not the leaſt temptation of envy, or malice

malice against him, and by my place should, at least so farre, have beene a preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to his destruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my transgression, and my sinne is ever before me.

Deliver me from blood guiltinesse O God, thou God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing of thy righteousnesse.

Against thee have I sinned, and done this evill in thy sight, for thou saweſt the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Yet cast me not away from thy presence, purge me with the blood of my Redeemer, and I shall be clean; wash me with that pretious effusion, and I shall be whiter then snow.

Teach mee to learne Righteousnesse by thy Iudgements, and to see my frailty in thy Iustice: while I was perswaded by shedding one mans blood to prevent after-troubles, thou hast for that, among other sinnes, brought upon mee, and upon my Kingdomes, great, long, and heavy troubles.

Make me to prefer Iustice, which is thy wil, before all contrary clamours, which are but the discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to please them by displeasing thee. O never suffer me for any reason of State, to goe against my Reason of Conscience, which is highly to sin against thee, the God of Reason, and Iudge of our Consciences.

What

What ever, O Lord, thou ſeeſt fit to deprive me of, yet reſtore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit; which ſubjects my will to none; but thy light of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion, which ſhines in my Soul, for Thou deſireſt Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expreſſions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Saviours Bloud, which ſpeakes better things; O make me, and my People, to hear the voyce of Joy and Gladneſſe, that the bones which thou haſt broken, may rejoyce in thy ſalvation.

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3. *Upon His Majeſties going to the Houſe of Commons.*

MY going to the Houſe of Commons to demand Juſtice upon the 5 Members, was an act, which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exaſperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealouſies and feares; yea, and many of My friends reſented it as a motion riſing rather from Paſſion then Reaſon, and not guided with ſuch diſcretion, as the touchineſſe of thoſe times re-required.

But

But theſe men knew not the juſt motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought my ſelf ſo furniſhed, that there needed nothing to ſuch evidence, as I could have produced againſt thoſe I charged, ſave only a free and legall Triall, which was all I deſired.

Nor had I any temptation of diſpleaſure, or revenge againſt thoſe mens perſons, further then I had diſcovered thoſe (as I thought) unlawfull correſpondencies they had uſed, and engagements they had made, to embroyle my Kingdomes: of all which I miſſed but little to have produced writings under ſome mens own hands, who were the chiefe contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it ſo, yet I wanted not ſuch probabilities as were ſufficient to raiſe jealouſies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly ſtupid and neglective of the publick peace, which to preſerve by calling in Queſtion half a dozen men, in a fair and legall way (which God knows was all my deſign) could have amounted to no worſe effect, had it ſucceeded, then either to doe Me, and my Kingdom right in caſe they had been found guilty; or elſe to have cleared their Innocency, and removed my ſuſpicions; which, as they were not raiſed out of any malice, ſo neither were they in Reaſon to be ſmothered.

What

What flames of diſcontent this ſparke (though I ſought by all ſpeedy and poſſible means to quench it) ſoone kindled, all the world is witneſſe: The aſperſion which ſome men caſt upon that action, as if I had deſigned by force to aſſault the Houſe of Commons, and invade their priviledge, is ſo falſe, that as God beſt knows, I had no ſuch intent; ſo none that attended Me could juſtly gather from any thing I then ſaid or did, the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thoughts.

That I went attended with ſome Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majeſty and ſafety of a King ſo to be attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times; ſo were my followers at that time ſhort of my ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more feared at my comming, then I was un-aſſured of not having ſome affronts caſts upon me, if I had none with me to preſerve a reverence to me; For many people had (at that time) learned to thinke thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince abundantly vented againſt Me, both by words and deeds.

The ſumme of that buſineſſe was this.

Thoſe men, and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater Protectors of their Lawes and Liberties, then my ſelf, and ſo worthier of their protecti-

on;

on. I leave them to God, and their own Consciences, who, if guilty of evill machinations; no present impunity, or popular vindications of them, will be subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunalls.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice among men, we must religiously appeale, as being an argument to us Christians of that after un-avoidable judgement, which shall rejudge, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future commotions, which I fore-saw, would in all likelyhood follow some mens activity (if not restrained) and so now hath done to the undoing of many thousands; the more is the pitty.

But to over-awe the freedome of the Houses, or to weaken their just Authority by any violent impressions upon them, was not at all my designe: I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on my side, as should not have needed so rough assistance; and I was resolved rather to bear the repulse with patience, then to use such hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art my witnesse in heaven, and in my Heart: If I have purposed any violence or oppression against the Innocent: or if there were any such wickednesse in my thoughts.

Then

Then let the enemy perſecute my ſoule, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Honour in the duſt.

Thou that ſeeſt not as man ſeeth, but lookeſt beyond all popular appearances, ſearching the heart, and trying the reines, and bringing to light the hidden things of darkeneſſe, ſhew thy ſelfe.

Let not my afflictions bee eſteemed (as with wiſe and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my ſin, in that matter: more then their Impunity among good men is any ſure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amiſſe, though they are not puniſhed for it in this world.

Save thy ſervant from the privy conſpiracies, and open violence of bloody and unreaſonable men, according to the uprightneſſe of my heart, and the innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cauſe, and maintaine my right, O thou that ſitteſt in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy ſervant may ever rejoyce in thy ſalvation.

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4. *Vpon*

4. *Upon the Inſolency of the Tumults.*

I Never thought any thing (except our ſins) more ominouſly preſaging all theſe miſcheifes, which have followed, then thoſe Tumults in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, ſoon after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a ſtorm at Sea, (which yet wants not its terror) but like an Earth-quake, ſhaking the very foundations of all; then which nothing in the world hath more of horrour.

As it is one of the moſt convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power ſets bounds to the raging of the Sea; ſo tis no leſſe, that he reſtraines the madneſſe of the people. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods diſpleaſure againſt a Nation, then when hee ſuffers the confluence and clamours of the vulgar, to paſſe all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Authority.

Which thoſe Tumults did to ſo high degrees of Inſolence, that they ſpared not to invade the Honour and Freedome of the two Houſes, menacing reproaching, ſhaking, yea, & aſſaulting ſome Members of both Houſes, as they fancyed, or diſliked them: Nor did they forbeare moſt rude and unſeemly deportments both

both in contemptuous words and actions, to My ſelfe and My Court.

Nor was this a ſhort fit or two of ſhaking, as an ague, but a quotidian feaver, alwaies encreaſing to higher inflammations, impatient of any mitigation, reſtraint, or remiſſion.

Firſt, they muſt bee a guard againſt thoſe feares, which ſome men ſcared themſelves and others withall; when indeed nothing was more to be feared and leſſe to be uſed by wiſe men, then thoſe tumultuary confluxes of meane and rude people, who are taught firſt to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at laſt to command and overawe the Parliament.

All obſtructions in Parliament (that is, all freedome of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reaſon and candour) muſt bee taken away with theſe Tumults: By theſe muſt the Houſes be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleaſed to count them) caſt out: By theſe the obſtinacy of men reſolved to diſcharge their Conſciences muſt be ſubdued, by theſe all factious, ſeditious, and ſchiſmaticall propoſalls againſt Government Eccleſiaſticall or Civill, muſt be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had moſt mind to bring forth confuſion and ruine upon Church and State, uſed the midwifery of thoſe Tumults: whoſe riot and impatience was ſuch, that they would

would not ſtay the ripening and ſeaſon of Counſels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberateneſſe befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, ſuch as their Inviters and Incouragers moſt fancyed.

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable were their outrages, that no ſober man could be without an infinite ſhame and ſorrow to ſee them ſo tolerated and connived at by ſome, countenanced, incouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſired, for the Publique good, then obtaine it by ſuch unlawfull and irreligious means? But mens paſſions and Gods directions ſeldome agree; violent deſignes and motions muſt have ſutable engines, ſuch as too much attend their OMne ends, ſeldome confine themſelves to Gods means. Force muſt crowd in what Reaſon will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrones of Tumults, to ſend for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, ſome men yet living are too conſcious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let theſe ſee, that thoſe were no fit means to be uſed for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no ſtrange thing for the Sea to rage,

rage, when ſtrong winds blow upon it ſo neither for Multitudes to become inſolent, when they have Men of ſome reputation for parts and piety to ſet them on.

That which made their rudeneſſe moſt formidable, was that many Complants being made, and Meſſages ſent by My ſelfe and ſome of both Houſes; yet no order for redreſſe could be obtained with any vigour and efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far-ſpread diſeaſe, and predominant miſchiefe.

Such was ſome mens ſtupidity, that they feared no inconvenience; Others petulancy, that they joyed to ſee their betters ſhamefully outraged, and abuſed, while they knew their only ſecurity conſiſted in vulgar flattery: So inſenſible were they of Mine, or the two Houſes common ſafety and Honours.

Nor could ever any order bee otained, impartially to examine, cenſure, and puniſh the knowne *Boutefeus*, and impudent Incendiaries, who boaſted of the influence they had, and uſed to convoke thoſe Tumults as their advantages ſerved.

Yea, ſome (who ſhould have beene wiſer States-men) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeale, & Induſtry; which to ſober men could ſeem no better then that of the Devil, who *goes about ſeeking whom he may* deceive, and *devoure*.

I confeſſe, when I found ſuch a deafneſſe, that no Declaration from the Biſhops, who were firſt fouly inſolenced and aſſaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour; nor yet from My ſelf, could take place for the due repreſſion of theſe Tumults; and ſecuring not onely Our freedome in Parliament, but Our very Perſons in the ſtreets; I thought My ſelfe not bound by My preſence, to provoke them to higher boldneſſe and contempts; I hoped by My withdrawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous fury and others regaining ſome degrees of modeſty and ſober ſenſe.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Puſillanimity in any man for popular terrours to deſert his publique ſtation. But I thinke it a hardineſſe beyond true valour, for a wiſe man to ſet himſelf againſt the breaking in of a Sea; which to reſiſt, at preſent, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it ſpace to ſpend its fury, and gaines a fitter time to repaire the breach. Certainly a Gallant man had rather fight to great diſadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with an undiſciplined rabble.

Some ſuſpected and affirmed that I meditated a Warre, (when I went from *Whitehall* onely to redeem My Perſon, and Conſcience from violence.) God knowes I did not then think

thinke of a Warre. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by ſo many former, and ſome after Acts, have ſo much weakened My ſelfe, if I had purpoſed to engage in a Warre; which to decline by all means, I denyed My ſelf in ſo many particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for a withdrawing our ſelves from the daily baitings of the Tumults not knowing whether their fury and diſcontent might not flie ſo high, as to worry and teare thoſe in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their pawes? God, who is My ſole Judge, is My Witneſſe in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from My Houſe at *Whitehall*, if I could have had but any reaſonable faire Quarter. I was reſolved to beare much, and did ſo, but I did not think My ſelf bound to proſtitute the Majeſty of My Place and Perſon, the ſafety of My Wife and Children, to thoſe, who are prone to inſult moſt, when they have objects and opportunity moſt capable of their rudeneſſe and petulancy.

But this buſineſſe of the Tumults (whereof ſome have given already an account to God, others yet living know themſelves deſperately guilty) Time and the guilt of many hath ſo ſmothered up, and buried, that I think it beſt

to

to leave it, as it is; Onely I believe the juſt Avenger of all diſorders, will in time make thoſe men, and that City, ſee their ſinne in the glaſſe of their puniſhment. 'Tis more then an even-lay that they may one day ſee themſelves puniſhed by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its firſt Election and Conſtitution, ſate full and free, the Members of both Houſes being left to their freedome of Voting, as in all reaſon, honour, and Religion, they ſhould have been; I doubt not but things would have beene ſo carried, as would have given no leſſe content to all good men, then they wiſhed or expected.

For, I was reſolved to heare reaſon in all things, and to conſent to it ſo faire as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, ſo are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourſes to publique Councels, turning all into diſorders and ſordid confuſions.

I am prone ſometimes to thinke, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as I might oppertunely enough have done) the ſad conſequences in all likelyhood, with Gods bleſſing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcome in any place, no place afforded ſuch confluence of various and vitious humours, as that where it was unhappily convened. But wee muſt

must leave all to God, who orders our diſorders, and magnifies his wiſdome moſt, when our follies and miſeries are moſt diſcovered.

But thou O Lord art My refuge and defence, to thee I may ſafely flie, who ruleſt the raging of the Sea, and the madneſſe of the People.

The flouds, O Lord, the flouds are come in upon me, and are ready to overwhelme me.

I looke upon My ſinnes, and the ſinnes of My people, (which are the tumults of our ſoules againſt thee O Lord) as the juſt cauſe of theſe popular inundations which thou permitteſt to overbeare all the banks of loyalty, modeſty, Laws, Juſtice, and Religion.

But thou that gatheredſt the waters into one place, and madeſt the dry land to appeare, and after did'ſt aſſwage the flood which drowned the world by the word of thy power; Rebuke thoſe beaſts of the people, and deliver Me from the rudeneſſe and ſtrivings of the multitude.

Reſtore, we beſeech thee, unto us, the freedomes of our Councels and Parliaments, make us unpaſſionately to ſee the light of Reaſon, and Religion, and with all order and gravity to follow it, as it becomes Men and Chriſtians; ſo ſhall we praiſe thy name, who art the God of order and counſell.

What man cannot, or will not repreſſe, thy omnipotent Juſtice can and will.

O

O Lord give them that are yet living, a timely ſenſe and ſorrow for their great ſinne, whom thou knoweſt guilty of raiſing or not ſuppreſſing thoſe diſorders: Let ſhame here, and not ſuffering hereafter be their puniſhment.

Set bounds to our paſſions by Reaſon, to our errours by Truth, to our ſeditions by Lawes duely executed, and to our ſchiſmes by Charity that we may be, as thy Jeruſalem, *a City at unity in it ſelfe.*

This grant, O My God, in thy good time for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, Amen.

5. *Upon His Majesties passing the Bill for the Triennial Parliaments: And after setling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.*

THat the world might bee fully confirmed in My purposes at first, to contribute, what in Justice, Reason, Honour, and Conscience, I could, to the Happy successe of this Parliament, (which had in Me no other designe but the Generall good of My Kingdomes) I willingly passed the Bill for Triennial Parliaments: which, as gentle and seasonable Physick, might (if well applied) prevent any distempers from getting any head or prevailing; especially, if the remedy proved not a disease beyond all remedy.

I conceived, this Parliament would find worke with convenient recesses for the first three Yeares; But I did not imagine that some men would thereby have occasioned more worke then they found to doe, by undoing so much as they found well done to their hands. Such is some mens activity that they wil needs make worke rather then want it; and chuse to be doing amisse, rather then doe nothing.

When

When that first Act seemed too scanty to satisfie some mens feares, and compasse publique affaires; I was perswaded to grant that Bill of sitting during the pleasure of the Houses, which amounted in some mens sense to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out, and lock the dore upon all present Jealousies, and future mistakes: I confesse I did not thereby intend to shut my selfe out of dores, as some men have now requited me.

True, It was an Act unparalell'd by any of My Predecessours yet cannot in reason admit of any worse interpretation then this, of an extreame confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill use of an Act, by which I declared so much to trust them, as to deny My selfe in so high a point of My Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it just or fit that My condition should be worse by My bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been so in the events, if some men had known as well with moderation to use, as with earnestnesse to desire advantages of doing good, or evill.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weale in tune, by preserving Lawes in their due execution and vigour, wherein My interest lies more than any

mans, since by those Lawes, My Rights as a King would be preserved no lesse than My Subjects; which is all I desired. More than the Law gives Me I would not have, and lesse the meanest Subject should not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I soone repented Me of that setling Act: and many would needs perswade Me, I had cause so to doe; but I could not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in Men of Honour. That the more I granted them, the lesse I should have, and enjoy with them. I still counted My selfe undiminished by My largest concessions, if by them I might gaine and confirm the love of My People.

Of which, I doe not yet dispaire, but that God will still blesse Me with increase of it: when Men shall have more leisure and lesse prejudice; that so with unpassionate representations they may reflect upon those, (as I think) not more princely then friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happinesse, who are now only miserable in this, That some mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time the Loyal and cleared affections of My people will strive to returne such retributions of Honour, and love to Me, or My Posterity, as may full

fully compensate both the acts of My confidence and My sufferings for them: which (God knows) have beene neither few, nor small, nor short; occasioned chiefly by a perswasion I had, that I could not grant too much or distrust too little, to Men, that being professedly My Subjects, pretended singular piety and religious strictnesse.

The Injury of all Injuries is, That which some men will needs load Me with all; as if I were a wilfull and resolved Occasioner of My owne and My Subjects miseries; while (as they confidently, but (God knows) falsly divulge) I repining at the establishment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hostility to undoe what by My Royall assent I had done. Sure it had argued a very short sight of things, and extreame fatuity of mind in Me, so farre to bind My own hands at their request; if I had shortly meant to have used a Sword against them. God knows, though I had then a sense of Injuries yet not such as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as since, to injure My selfe by their not using favours, with the same candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuse all Acts of Grace, and turne them into wantonnesse; but I thought at length their owne feares, whose black arts first raised up those turbulent Spirits

would force them to conjure them downe againe.

Nor If I had juſtly reſented any indignities put upon Me, or others, was I then in any capacity to have taken juſt revenge in an Hoſtile and Warlike way upon thoſe, whom I knew ſo well fortified in the love of the meaner ſort of the people, that I could not have given My enemies greater, and more deſired advantages againſt Me, then by ſo unprincely Inconſtancy, to have aſſaulted them with Armes, thereby to ſcatter them, whom but lately I had ſolemnly ſetled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows I longed for nothing more then that My ſelfe, and my Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of my many condeſcendings.

It had been a Courſe full of ſinne, as well as of Hazard, and diſhonour for me to goe about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had ſo lately planted, ſo much (as I thought) to my Subjects content, and mine owne too, in all probability: If ſome men had not feared where no feare was, whoſe ſecurity conſiſted in ſcaring others.

I thanke God I know ſo well the ſincerity and uprightneſſe of my owne heart, in paſſing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times, That although I may ſeeme leſſe a Politician to men, yet I need

no

no ſecret diſtinctions or evaſions before God. Nor had I any reſervations in my owne Soule, when I paſſed it; nor repentings after, till I ſaw that my letting ſome men goe up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to caſt me down-head-long.

Concluding, that without a miracle, monarchy it ſelfe, together with me, could not but be daſhed in pieces, by ſuch a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive, and make them ſee at length, That as many Kingdomes as the Devill ſhewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by wayes of ſinfull ingratitude and diſhonour, which hazards a Soule worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdomes.

But God hath hitherto preſerved me, and made Me to ſee, That it is no ſtrange thing for men, left to their owne paſſions, either to doe much evill themſelves, or abuſe the over-much goodneſſe of others, whereof an ungratefull Surfet is the moſt deſperate and incurable diſeaſe.

I cannot ſay properly that I repent of that Act, ſince I have no reflexions upon is as a ſin of my will, though an error of too charitable a judgement: Only I am ſorry other mens eyes ſhould be evill, becauſe mine were good.

To Thee (O my God) doe I ſtill appeale, whoſe All-diſcerning Juſtice ſees through all the diſguiſes of mens pretenſions, and deceitfull darkneſſes of their hearts.

Thou gaveſt me a heart to grant much to My Subjects; and now I need a Heart fitted to ſuffer much from ſome of them.

Thy will be done, though never ſo much to the croſſing of ours, even when we hope to do what might be moſt conformable to thine and theirs too; who pretended they aimed at nothing elſe.

Let thy grace teach me wiſely to enjoy as well the fruſtratings, as the fulfillings of My beſt hopes, and moſt ſpecious deſires.

I ſee while I thought to allay others feares, I have raiſed Mine owne; and by ſetling them, have unſetled My ſelfe.

Thus have they requited Me evill for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.

O Lord be thou My Pilot in this darke and dangerous ſtorme, which neither admits My returne to the Port whence I ſet out, nor My making any other, with that ſafety and honour which I deſigned.

Tis eaſie for Thee to keep Me ſafe in the love and confidence of My people; nor is it hard for Thee to preſerve Me amidſt the unjuſt hatred and jealouſies of too many, which thou haſt ſuffered ſo far to prevaile upon Me, as to be able to pervert and abuſe My acts of greateſt Indulgence

gence to them, and assurance of them.

But no favours from Mee can make others more guilty then My selfe may be, of misusing those many and great ones, which thou, O Lord, hast conferred on Me.

I beseech Thee give Me and them such Repentance, as thou wilt accept, and such Grace as we may not abuse.

Make Me so farre happy as to make a right use of others abuses, and by their failings of Me, to reflect, with a reforming displeasure, upon My offences against Thee.

So, although by My sins I am by other mens sins deprived of thy temporal blessings, yet I may bee happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raise the greatest Sufferers to be the most glorious Saints.

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6. *Upon His Majesties retirement from* Westminster.

WIth what unwillingnesse I withdrew from *Westminster*, let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling and victuall, are forced by Sea to a storm; yet better do so, then venture splitting or sinking on a Lee shore.

I stayed at *Whitehall*, till I was driven away by shame more than feare; to see the barbarous rudenesse of those Tumults who resolved they would take the boldnesse to demand any thing, and not leave either my self, or the Members of Parliament the liberty of our Reason, and Conscience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppression My case alone, (though chiefly Mine) For the Lords and Commons might be content to bee overvoted by the *major* part of their Houses, when they had used each their own freedome.

Whose agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reason conclusive to My Judgement; nor can they include, or carry with them My consent, whom they represent not in any kind; Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses, then I see them agree with

with the will of God, with My juſt Rights, as a King, and the generall good of my People. I ſee that as many men they are ſeldome of one mind; and I may oft ſee, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to ſober and moderate mindes, how deſirous I was to give all juſt content, when I agreed to ſo many Bills, which had been enough to ſecure and ſatisfie all: If ſome mens Hydropick inſatiableneſſe had not learned to thirſt the more by how much more they drank; whom no fountain of Royall bounty was able to overcome; ſo reſolved they ſeemed, either utterly to exhauſt it, or barbarouſly to obſtruct it.

Sure it ceaſes to be Councell; when not Reaſon is uſed, as to men to perſwade; but force and terrour as to beaſts, to drive and compell men to aſſent to what ever tumultuary Patrones ſhall project. He deſerves to be a ſlave without pitty, or redemption that is content to have the rationall ſoveraignty of his Soul, and liberty of his will, and words ſo captivated.

Nor do I think My Kingdomes ſo conſiderable as to preſerve them with the forfeiture of that freedome; which cannot be denied Me as a King, becauſe it belongs to Me as a Man and a Chriſtian; owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above Me, as obliging Me to conſen-

ſent. Better for Me to die enjoying this Empire of My Soul, which ſubjects Me only to God, ſo farre as by Reaſon or Religion hee directs Me, then live with the Title of a King, if it ſhould carry ſuch a vaſſalage with it, as not to ſuffer Me to uſe my Reaſon and Conſcience, in which I declare as a King, to like or diſlike.

So farre am I from thinking the Majeſty of the Crown of *England* to bee bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blind and brutiſh formality, to conſent to what ever its ſubjects in Parliament ſhall require; as ſome men will needs inferre; while denying Me any power of a Negative voice as King, they are not aſhamed to ſeek to deprive Me of the liberty of uſing My Reaſon with a gŏod Conſcience, which themſelves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, whatever My ſelf, as King, or the Houſe of Peeres with Me ſhould, not ſo much deſire as enjoyn them to paſſe, I think My Oath fully diſcharged in that point by My Governing only by ſuch Lawes, as My People, with the Houſe of Peeres have Choſen, and My ſelf have conſented to. I ſhall never think My ſelf conſcientiouſly tied to goe as oft againſt My Conſcience, as I ſhould conſent to ſuch new Propoſalls,

falls, which My Reason in Justice, Honour, and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet so tender I see some men are of their being subject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonour and absurdity they make their King the onely man, that must be subject to the will of others, without having power left Him, to use His own Reason, either in Person, or by any Representation.

And if My dissentings at any time were (as some have suspected, and uncharitably avowed out of error, opinion, activenesse, weaknesse, or wilfulnesse, and what they call Obstinacy in Me (which not true Judgement of things, but some vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on my Mind;) yet can no man think it other then the Badge and Method of Slavery, by savage rudenesse, and importunate obtrusions of violence, to have the mist of His Errour and Passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason, and must serve those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot bee blameable to God or Man, who seriously endeavours to see the best reason of things, and faithfully followes what he takes for Reason: The uprightnesse of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding; If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can

be

be no fault in him to steere his course by such stars as do best appear to him. It argues rather those men to be conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carry on the weaknesse of their Councells, and Propositions. I may, in the Truth and uprightnesse of My heart, protest before God and Men; that I never wilfully opposed, or denied any thing, that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to Me, by the two Houses, Further then I thought in good reason I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please Me more, then when My Judgement so concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conscience consent to them: yea, in many things where not absolute and morall necessity of Reason, but temporary convenience on point of Honour was to be considered. I chose rather to deny My self, then them; as preferring that which they thought necessary for My Peoples good, before what I saw but convenient for My self.

For I can be content to recede much from My own Interests, and Personall Rights, of which I conceive My self to be Master; but in what concernes Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown, together with the generall good of My Kingdomes; (all

which

which I am bound to preserve as much as morally lies in Me:) here I am, and ever shall be fixt and resolute nor shal any Man gain My consent to that, wherein My Heart gives My tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I be brought to affirme that to Men, which in My Conscience I denied before God. I will rather chuse to weare a Crowne of Thornes with My Savious, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Me) for one of lead whose embased flexibleness shall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, and oft contrary dictates of any Factions; when in stead of Reason, and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interest of parties, and flowes from the partialities of private Mills and passions.

I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, then to prefer His Conscience before His Kingdomes.

O my God, preserve thy servant in this Native, Rationall and Religious freedome; For this I believe is thy will that we should maintain: who, though thou dost justly require us to submit our understandings and wils to thine; whose wisdom and goodnesse can neither erre, nor misguide us, and so farre to deny our carnall reason, in order to thy sacred Mysteries, and commands, that we should believe & obey rather then dispute them;

yet

yet dost thou expect from us, only such a reasonable service of thee, as not to doe any thing for thee, against our consciences; and as to the desires of men, enjoynest us to try all things by the touch-stone of Reason and Lawes, which are the rules of civill Justice; and to declare our consents to that only which our Judgements approve.

Thou knowest, ô Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which thou hast set me, and whereto the affaires of my Kingdomes at present did call me.

My People can witnesse how far I have been content for their good, to deny My self, in what thou hast subjected to My disposall.

O Let not the unthankfull importunities, and tumultuary violence of some mens Immoderate demands, ever betray Me to that degenerous and unmanly slavery, which should make Me strengthen them by my consent in those things which I think in my Conscience to be against thy glory, the good of My Subjects, and the discharge of My own duty to Reason and Justice.

Make Me willing to suffer the greatest indignities, and injuries they presse upon Me, rather then commit the least sinne against My Conscience.

Let the just liberties of My people be (as well they may) preserved in faire, and equall wayes, without the slavery of My soul.

Thus

Thou that hast invested Me by thy favours, in the power of a Christian King, suffer Me not to subject my Reason to other mens passions, and designes, which to Me seeme unreasonable, unjust, and irreligious: So shall I serve thee in the truth and uprightnesse of My heart, though I cannot satisfie these men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give Me grace to walk always uprightly before thee.

Lead Me in the way of Truth and Justice, for these, I know, will bring Me at last to peace and happinesse with thee; though for these I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for My Saviours sake.

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7. *Upon the Queenes departure, and absence out of* England.

ALthough I have much cause to bee troubled at My Wifes departure from Me and out of My Dominions; yet not Her absence so much, as the scandall of that necessity, which drives her away, doth afflict Me. That Shee should be compelled by My owne Subjects, and those pretending to bee Protestants, to withdraw for Her safety: This being the first example of any Protestant Sub-

Subjects, that have taken up Arms against their King, a Proteſtant: For I look upon this now done in England, as another Act of the ſame Tragedie which was lately begun in Scotland; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear ſuch motions (ſo little to the adoring of the Proteſtant profeſſion) may occaſion a further alienation of mind, and divorce of affections in Her from that Religion, which is the only thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away; and not ſuffer theſe practiſes to be any obſtruction to Her judgement; ſince it is the motion of thoſe men, (for the moſt part) who are yet to ſeek and ſettle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and ſo not to be imputed to the true Engliſh Proteſtants; who continue firme to their former ſetled Principles and Lawes.

I am ſorry My relation to ſo deſerving a Lady, ſhould be any occaſion of her danger and affliction; whoſe merits would have ſerved her for a protection among the ſavage *Indians*, while their rudeneſſe and barbarity knowes not ſo perfectly to hate all Vertues, as ſome mens ſubtilty doth; among whom I yet think few are ſo malicious as to hate Her for Herſelfe. The fault is, that ſhe is My wife.

All juſtice then as well as affection com-

man-

mands Me, to ſtudy her Security, who is only in danger for My ſake; I am content to be toſſed, weather-beaten, and ſhipwrackt, ſo as ſhee may be in ſafe Harbour.

This comfort I ſhall enjoy by her ſafety in the midſt of My Perſonall dangers, that I can periſh but halfe, if ſhe be preſerved: In whoſe memory, and hopefull Poſterity, I may yet ſurvive the malice of My enemies, although they ſhould be ſatiated with My bloud.

I muſt leave her, and them, to the Love and Loyalty of My good Subjects; and to his protection, who is able to puniſh the faults of Princes, and no leſſe ſeverely to revenge the injuries done to Them, by thoſe who in all duty and Allegiance, ought to have made good that ſafety, which the Lawes chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vaine expected from thoſe, that diſpute their Loyalty: Nor can it be ſafe (for any relation) to a King, to tarry among them who are ſhaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faſt hold on their Religion.

'Tis pitty ſo noble and peacefull a ſoule ſhould ſee, much more ſuffer, the rudeneſſe of thoſe, who muſt make up their want of juſtice, with inhumanity, and impudence.

Her ſympathy with Me in my afflictions, will make her vertues ſhine with greater luſtre,

as

as ſtars in the darkeſt nights; and aſſure the en-
vious world, that ſhee loves Me, not My for-
tunes.

Neither of us but can eaſily forgive, ſince
We do not much blame the unkindneſſe of the
Generality, and Vulgar; for we ſee God is
pleaſed to try both our patience, by the moſt
ſelfe-puniſhing ſin, the Ingratitude of thoſe
who having eaten of our bread, and being en-
riched with Our bounty, have Scornfully lift
up themſelves againſt Us; and thoſe of Our
owne Houſhold are become our enemies. I
pray God lay not their ſin to their charge: who
think to ſatisfie all obligations to duty by their
Corban of Religion: and can leſſe endure to
ſee, then to ſin againſt their benefactours as
well as their Soveraignes.

But even that policy of my enemies is ſo
farre veniall, as it was neceſſary to their de-
ſignes, by ſcandalous articles, and all irrev-
rent demeanour, to ſeeke to drive her out of
My Kingdomes; leſt by the influence of her
example, eminent for love as a Wife, and
Loyalty as a Subject ſhe ſhould have conver-
ed to, or reteyned in their love, and Loyalty
all thoſe whom they had a purpoſe to perver
The leſſe I may be bleſt with her compan
the more I will retire to God, and My own
Heart, whence no malice can baniſh Her. M
enemies may envy, but they can never depri

Me of the enjoyment of her vertues, while I enjoy my selfe.

Thou O Lord whose Justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy mercy in thy due time, reunite us on earth, if it be thy will; however bring us both at last, to thy heavenly kingdom.

Preserve us from the hands of our despitefull and deadly enemies; and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though we differ in some things, as to Religion, (which is my greatest temporall infelicity) yet Lord give, and accept the sincerity of our affections, which desire to seeke, find, to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy selfe, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to know in order to thy glory, our publicke relations and our soules eternall good, and make us carefull to doe what good we know.

Let neither Ignorance of what is necessary to be knowne, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what we know, be our misery or our wilfull default.

Let not this great Scandall of those my subjects, which professe the same Religion with me, be any hindrance to her love of any Truth thou wouldst have her to learne, nor any hardning of her, in any errour thou wouldst have cleared to her.

Let

Let mine, and other mens constancy bee an Antidote against the poyson of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I profesſe, be represented to her Judgement, with all the beauties of Humility, Loyalty, Charity, and Peaceableneſſe; which are the proper fruits, and ornaments of it: Not in the odious diſguiſes of Levity, Schiſme, Hereſie, Novelty, Cruelty, and Diſloyalty, which ſome mens practiſes have lately put upon it.

Let her ſee thy ſacred and ſaving Truths, as Thine; that ſhe may believe, love, and obey them as Thine, cleared from all ruſt and droſſe of humane mixtures.

That in the glaſſe of thy Truth ſhee may ſee thee, in thoſe mercies which thou haſt offered to us, in thy Sonne Jeſus Chriſt, our only Saviour, and ſerve thee in al thoſe Holy duties, which moſt agree with his holy doctrine, and moſt imitable example.

The experience wee have of the vanity, and uncertainty of all humane Glory, and greatneſſe in our ſcatterings and Eclypſes, let it make us both ſo much the more ambitious to be inveſted in thoſe durable honours, and perfections, which are only to be found in thy ſelfe, and obtained through Jeſus Chriſt.

Upon

8. *Upon His Majesties repulse at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulse at *Hull* seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyalty, that My greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abet, or owne it: It was the first overt Essay to be made, how patiently I could beare the Losse of My Kingdomes.

God knows, it affected me more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for My selfe; nor did the affront done to Me trouble Me so much as their sinne, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to beare this, and much more, with patience: But I foresaw they could hardly conteine themselves within the compasse of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soone after to overspread the whole Kingdome, and cast all into disorder and darkenesse.

For tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and disloyall undertakers: That bad actions must alwayes be seconded with worse, and rather not be begun then not carried on, for they thinke

think the retreat more dangerous then the assault and hate repentance more then perseverance in a Fault.

This gave me to see clearly through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of some men; whose words were sometime smoother then oyle, but now I saw they would prove very Swords.

Against which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conscience, thought it my best policy with patience to bear what I could not remedy: And in this (thanke God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdaine, or emotion of passion transported Me, by the indignity of his carriage, to doe or say any thing, unbeseeming My selfe, or unsutable to that temper, which, in greatest injuries, I think, best becomes a Christian, as comming neareſt to to the great example of Christ.

And indeed, I desire alwaies more to remember I am a Christian then a King; for what the Majesty of one might justly abhor, the Charity of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Christian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compasse all those impotent passions, whose excesse injuries a man, more then his greatest enemies can; for these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which otherwaies cannot reach very far, nor doe us much hurt

I cannot but obſerve how God not long after ſo pleaded, and avenged My cauſe, in the eye of the world, that the moſt wilfully blind cannot avoid the diſpleaſure to ſee it, and with ſome remorſe and fear to own it as a notable ſtroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham*, unreproached, unthreatned, uncurſed, by any language or ſecret imprecation of Mine, onely blaſted with the conſcience of his own wickedneſſe, and falling from one inconſtancy to another, not long after paies his own and his eldeſt Sons heads, as forfeitures of their diſloyalty, to thoſe men, from whom ſurely he might have expected another reward then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whoſe hearts with them were divided from their KING.

Nor is it ſtrange that they who imployed them at firſt in ſo high a ſervice, and ſo ſucceſſefull to them, ſhould not finde mercy enough to forgive Him, who had ſo much premerited of them: For, Apoſtacy unto Loyalty ſome men account the moſt unpardonable ſin.

Nor did a ſolitary vengeance ſerve the turn, the cutting off one head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Common-weale. The eldeſt Son muſt be involved in the puniſhment, as he was infected with the ſin of the Father, againſt the Father, of his Country: Root and branch God cuts off in one day.

These observations are obvious to every fancy: God knows, I was far from rejoycing in the *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full drought, being executed by them who first employed him against Me) that I so far pitied him; as I thought he at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then I hope many other men do in the same Cause.

For, he was never thought to be of that superstitious sowrenesse, which some men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which so darkens their judgement that they cannot see any thing of Sin and Rebellion in those means, they use, with intents to reform to their Models, of what they call Religion, who think all is gold of piety, which doth but glister with a shew of Zeal and fervency.

Sir *Iohn Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and so most liable to those down-right temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which makes me more pity him is, that after he began to have some inclinations towards a repentance for his sin, and reparation of his duty to Me, He should be so unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Justice, and not My Mercy, who could as willingly

have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of Me.

For I think clemency a debt, which we ought to pay to those that crave it, when we have cause to believe they would not after abuse it, since God himself suffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy but onely prayers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a noteable monument of unprosperous disloyalty, teaching the world by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Soveraign carries alwaies its own vengeance, as an unseparable shadow with it, and those oft prove the most fatall, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Imployers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-hill*; though 'tis certain that no punishment so staius a mans Honour, as wilfull perpetrations of unworthy actions; which besides the conscience of the sin, brands with most indelible characters of infamy, the name and memory to posterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartiall reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, suffer me not to take

any ſecret pleaſure in it, for as his death hath ſatisfied the injury he did to me, ſo let me not by it gratifie any paſſion in me, leſt I make thy vengeance to be mine, and conſider the affront againſt me, more than the ſin againſt thee.

Thou indeed, without any deſire or endeavour of mine, haſt made his miſchief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou haſt pleaded my cauſe, even before the ſons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy work, and ſee that thou, Lord, haſt done it.

I do not, I dare not ſay, ſo let mine enemies periſh O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy bleſſed will.

Let not thy juſtice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy; yea, let them live and amend, who have moſt offended me in ſo high a nature; that I may have thoſe to forgive, who bear moſt proportion in their offences to thoſe treſpaſſes againſt thy majeſty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Lord, lay not their ſins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their conſciences for amendment: Let the lighting of this thunderbolt, which hath been ſo ſevere a puniſhment [illegible] be a terrour to all.

[illegible] diſcover to them their ſin, who know not [illegible] done amiſſe, and ſcare them from their ſe-

ſin, that ſin of malicious wickedneſſe.

That preventing thy judgements by their tru repentance, they may eſcape the ſtrokes of thin eternall vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, eſtabliſh the Thron of thy ſervant in mercy, and truth, meeting toge ther; let my Crown ever flouriſh in righteouſ neſſe, and peace, kiſſing each other.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, who haſt tanght u to pray for, to do good to, and to love our ene mies, for thy ſake; who haſt prevented us wit offertures of thy love, even when we were thin enemies, and haſt ſent thy Son Jeſus Chri to die for us, when we were diſpoſed to crucifi him.

9. *Upon the listing, and raising Armies against the* KING.

I Find that I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced Me to leave *White-hall*: what Tumults could not do, an Army must; which is but Tumults listed, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My recesse hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And so I easily may as to any outward strength, which, God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a Soul invincible through Gods grace enabling Me; here I am sure to be Conquerour, if God will give Me such a measure of Constancy, as to fear him more than man: and to love the inward peace of my Conscience, before any outward tranquility.

And must I be opposed with force, because they have not reason wherewith to convince me? O my Soul! be of good courage, they confesse their known weaknesse, as to truth, and Iustice, who chose rather to contend by Armies, than by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for those many Acts of Grace I have lately passed, and for those many Indignities I have

have endured? Is there no way left to make Me a glorious KING but by My sufferings?

It is a hard and disputable choice for a King, that loves his People, and desires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civil War in the bowels of My most flourishing Kingdom, the fruits I must now reap after 17 years living and reigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithstanding some miscarriages in Government, which might escape; rather through ill counsell of some men driving on their private ends, or the peevishnesse of others envying the publique should be managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then any propensity, I hope, of my self either to injuriousnesse or oppression.

Whose innocent bloud during My Reign have I shed, to satisfie My lust, anger or covetousnesse? what Widows or Orphans tears can witnesse against me; the just cry of which must now be avenged with My own bloud? For the hazards of War are equall, nor doth the Cannon know any respect of Persons.

In vain is My Person excepted by a Parenthesis of words, when so many hands are armed against Me with Swords.

God knows how much I have ſtudied to ſee what Ground of Iuſtice is alledged for this War againſt Me; that ſo I might (by giving juſt ſatisfaction) either prevent, or ſoon end ſo unnaturall a motion; which (to many men) ſeems rather the productions of a ſurfeit of peace, and wantounſſe of mindes, or of private diſcontents, Ambition and Faction (which eaſily finde, or make cauſes of quarrell) then any reall obſtructions of publik Iuſtice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I muſt be able to avoid and anſwer before God in My own Conſcience, however ſome men are not willing to beleeve Me, leſt they ſhould condemn themſelves.

When I firſt withdrew from *White-hall*, to ſee if I could allay the inſolency of the Tumults, (the not ſuppreſſing of which, no account in Reaſon can be given, (where an orderly Guard was granted) but only to oppreſſe both Mine and the Two Houſes freedom of declaring and voting according to every mans Conſcience) what obſtructions of Iuſtice were there further then this, that what ſeemed juſt to one man, might not ſeem ſo to another?

Whom did I by power protect againſt the Iuſtice of Parliament?

That ſome men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their tryall, (warned by My Lord

of *Straffords* death) while the vulgar threatned to be their Oppressors, and Judgers of their Iudges, was from that instinct, which is in all creatures to preserve themselves. If any others refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of Iustice and Freedom so stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull Iudges either durst not come to the Houses, or not declare their sense with liberty and safety; it cannot seem strange to any reasonable man when the sole exposing them to publick *odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Cause could be heard or tryed.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the Freedom and Honour of the two Houses; had they asserted their Iustice against them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Consciences: I know no man so dear to Me, whom I had the least inclination to advise either to withdraw himself, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whose Sentence according to Law (I think) every Subject bound to stand.

Distempers (indeed) were risen to so great a heigth, for want of timely repressing the vulgar insolencies; that the greatest guilt of those which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not suffer themselves to be over-aw'd with the Tumults, and their Patrons; nor compelled to abet

by their suffrages, or presence; the designes of those men who agitated innovations, and ruine both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous constancy and cautiousnesse; further then this I did never allow any mans refractorinesse against the Priviledges and Orders of the Houses; to whom I wished nothing more then Safety, Fulnesse, and Freedom.

But the truth is, some men, and those no many, despairing in fair and Parliamentary wayes by free deliberations, and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the Major part of Lords and Commons, betook themselves (by the desperate activity of factious Tumults) to sift and terrifie away all those Members whom they saw to be of contrary minds to their purposes.

How oft was the businesse of the Bishops enjoying their Ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the House of Peers, carried for them by far the Major part of Lords. Yet after five repulses, contrary to all Order and Custome, it was by tumultuary instigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when most of the Peers were forced to absent themselves.

In like maner, was the Bill against Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuary Clamours and schismaticall Terrours, which could never passe, till both Houses were sufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partiality, while in all Reason, Iustice and Religion, My conscience forbids Me by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; I must now be urged with an Army, and constrained either to hazzard My own, and My Kingdoms ruine, by my Defence; or prostrate My Conscience to the blind obedience of those men, whose zealous superstition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater service, than utterly to destroy that Primitive, Apostolicall, and anciently Vniversall Government of the Church by Bishops.

Which if other mens judgements bind them to maintain, or forbids them to consent to the abolishing of it; Mine much more; who, besides the grounds I have in My judgement, have also a most stricke and indispensable Oath upon My Conscience, to preserve that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which, most Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury, most un-beseeming a Christian King, should I ever by giving My Consent be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater misery, then any hath, or can, befall Me; in as much as the least sinne hath more evill in it, then the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-episcopall Faction at first in this point, with My consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiasticall Government, and Revenews, to the

the fury of their covetuousneſſe, ambition, and revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable neceſſity of raiſing an Army to fetch in, and puniſh Delinquents.

That I conſented to the Bill of putting the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, was done with a firm perſwaſion of their contentednes to ſuffer a preſent diminution in their Rights, and Honour, for My ſake, and the Common-weals, which I was confident they would readily yeeld unto, rather then occaſion (by the leaſt obſtruction on their part) any dangers to Me, or to My Kingdom. That I cannot adde My conſent for the totall extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath ſo much further tie upon My Conſcience, as what I think Religious and Apoſtolicall; and ſo very Sacred and Divine, as not to be diſpenſed with, or deſtroyed, when what is onely of civill Favor, and priviledge of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their conſent, who are concerned in it, be annulled.

This is the true ſtate of thoſe obſtructions pretended to be in point of Iuſtice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witneſſe, I knew none of ſuch conſequence as was worth ſpeaking of a War, being onely ſuch as Iuſtice, Reaſon, and Religion had made in My own and other mens Conſciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made; which were but consequences necessarily following upon Mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence against violence: but those could not be the first occasion of raysing an Army against Me. Wherein I was so far from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might seeme to have the advantage and justice of the defensive part, and load Me with all the envy and injuries of first assaulting them) that God knows, I had not so much as any hopes of an Army in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honourably and Effectually represſed by exemplary Iustice, and the liberty of the Houses so vindicated, that all Members of either House might with Honour and Freedome, becomming such a Senate, have come and discharged their Consciences, I had obtained all that I designed by My withdrawing; and had much more willingly, and speedily returned then I retired; this being My necessity driving, the other My choise desiring.

But some men knew, I was like to bring the same judgement and constancy, which I carryed with Me, which would never fit their designes: and so while they invited Me to come, and greevously complained of My absence, yet they could not but be pleased with it: especially when they had found out that plausible and

and popular pretext of raising an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never punished the greatest and most intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave My selfe, and so many of both Houses from their places, by most barbarous indignities, which yet in all Reason and Honour, they were as loath to have deserted, as those others were willing they should, that so they might have occasion to persecute them with the Injuries of an Army, for not suffering more tamely the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true state, and first drift and designe in raising an Army against Me, is by the sequell so evident, that all other pretences vanish. For when they declared by Propositions or Treaties, what they would have to appease them; there was nothing of consequence offered to Me, or demanded of Me, as any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Iustice. But among other lesser Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Episcopall, and the Establishment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or easily granted by Me, and onely so make up a number, or else they were meerly consequentiall, or accessary, after the War was by them unjustly began.

I

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noise and shew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily so fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearnesse of judgement might be obstructed. But this was, and is, as to my best observation, the true state of affairs betweene us, when they first raised an Army, with this designe, either to stop My mouth, or to force My consent: and in this truth, as to My conscience, (who was (God knowes) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the world from having any preparation for one) I find that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfortunate successes of this War, on My side, I doe not think My Innocency any whit prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that Integrity, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to addresse My Prayer to Him.

For Thou, O Lord, seest clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgest without prejudice: Thy omniscience eternally guides thy unerrable Judgement.

O my God, the proud are risen against me, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after my soule, and have not set Thee before their eyes.

Consider My enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cause.

For

For Thou knowest, I had no passion, designe, or preparation to embroyle My Kingdomes in a Civill Warre; whereto I had least temptation; as knowing I must adventure more then any, and could gaine least of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witnesse how oft I have deplored, and studied to divert the necessity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought so prodigally thirsty of my Subjects blood, as to venture my own Life, which I have been oft compelled to doe in this unhappy Warre; and which were better spent to save then to destroy my People.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou hast suffered some men to bring upon me; but much more to bear the unjust reproaches of those, who not content that I suffer most by the Warre, will needs perswade the World that I have raised first, or given just cause to raise it.

The confidence of some mens false tongues is such, that they would make me almost suspect my own innocency: Yea, I could be content (at least by my silence) to take upon me so great a guilt before men, If by that I might allay the malice of my Enemies, and redeeme my People from this miserable Warre; since thou O Lord knowest my Innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt finde out bloody and deceitfull men; many of whom have not lived out half their daies, in which they promised themselves the en-

joyment

joyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked Counsels.

Save, O Lord, thy servant, as hitherto thou hast, and in thy due time scatter the people that delight in War.

Arise O Lord, lift up thy self, because of the rage of mine Enemies, which encreaseth more and more, Behold them that have conceived mischief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falshood.

Thou knowest the chief designe of this Warre is, either to destroy My Person, or force my Judgement, and to make me renege my Conscience and thy Truth.

I am driven to crosse Davids *choise and desire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their mercies be cruell) then into thy hands by sinning against My Conscience, and in that against thee, who art a consuming fire, ; Better they destroy Me, then thou shouldst damne Me.*

Be thou ever the defence of My soul, who wilt save the upright in heart.

If nothing but My blood will satisfie My Enemies, or quench the flames of My Kingdomes, or thy temporall Justice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be shed by Mine owne Subjects hands.

But ô let the blood of Me, though their King, yet a sinner, be washed with the blood of My Inno-

cent

cent and peace-making Redeemer, for in that thy Iuſtice will finde not only a temporary expiation but an eternall plenary ſatisfaction; both for my ſins, and the ſins of my People; whom I beſeech thee ſtill own for thine, and when thy wrath is appeaſed by my Death, O Remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them! O my Father, for they know not what they doe.

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10. *Upon their ſeizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.*

HOw untruly I am charged with the firſt raiſing of an Army, and beginning this Civill Warre, the eyes that onely pitty me, and the Loyall hearts that durſt only pray for Me, at firſt, might witneſſe, which yet appear not ſo many on My ſide, as there were men in Arms liſted againſt me; My unpreparedneſſe for a War may well dif-hearten thoſe that would help Me; while it argues (truly) My unwillingnes to fight; yet it teſtifies for me, that I am ſet on the defenſive part, having ſo little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend my ſelf, or to preſerve what is mine own from their proceedings.

No man can doubt but they prevented me in their purposes, as well as their injuriess who are so much afore-hand in their preparations against Me, and surprisals of My strength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not be for Me; so overaw'd is their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrours. I believe My Innocency, and unpreparednesse to assert My Rights and Honour, makes Me the more guilty in their esteeme; who would not so easily have declared a War against Me, if I had first assaulted them.

They knew My chiefest Armies left Me, were those only, which the Ancient Christians were wont to use against their Persecutors, Prayers and Teares. These may serve a good mans turne, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and surprizing my Castles, Forts, Armes, and Navy, with the Militia, is so farre best for Me, That it may drive Me from putting any trust in the arme of flesh, and wholly to cast my self into the protection of the living God, who can save by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may also make their surprisall of outward force and defence, an opportunity to shew me the speciall support of his power and protection.

I thank God, I reckon not now the want the *Militia* so much in reference to My o protection as My Peoples.

Their many and sore oppressions grieve I am above My owne, what I want in hands of Force and Power, I have in the wi of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the strange method these men needs take to resolve their riddle of Making a glorious King, by taking away my Kin power: Thus I shall become a support to Friends, and a Terrour to My Enemies, being unable to succour the one, or suppr the other.

For thus have they designed, and propo to Me, the new modelling of Soveraignty Kingship, as without any reality of power without any necessity of subjection and obe ence: That the Majesty of the Kings of *land* might hereafter, hang like *Mahom* Tomb, by a magnetique Charme, between Power and Priviledges of the two Houses, an aiery imagination of Regality.

But I believe the surfeit of too much Pow which some men have greedily seized on, now seek wholly to devour, will ere long the Common-wealth sick both of it and t since they cannot well digest it; Soveri Power in Subjects seldome agreeing wi stomacks of fellow Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the conſtant
Militia ſought, by ſatisfying their feares, and
portunities, both to ſecure My Friends,
d overcome Mine Enemies, to gaine the
ace of all, by depriving My ſelfe of a ſole
wer to help, or hurt any: yeilding the *Mi-*
ia (which is my undoubted Right no leſſe
an the Crown) to be diſpoſed of as the two
ouſes ſhall think fit, during My time

So willing am I to bury all Iealouſies in
em, of Me, and to live above all Iealouſies of
em, as to My ſelf; I deſire not to be ſafer
an I wiſh them and My People, ; if I had
e ſole actuall diſpoſing of the *Militia*, I
uld not protect My People, further then
ey protected Me, and themſelves: ſo that
e uſe of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would but
fend My ſelfe ſo far, as to be able to defend
y good Subjects from thoſe mens violence
nd fraud, who conſcious to their owne evill
erits and deſignes, will needs perſwade the
orld, that none but Wolves are fit to bee
uſted with the cuſtody of the Shepherd and
is Flock. Miſerable experience hath taught
My Subjects, ſince Power hath been wrefted
rom Me, and imployed againſt Me & Them!
hat neither can be ſafe if both be not in ſuch
way as the Law hath entruſted she publique
fety and welfare.

Yet even this Conceſſion of Mine, as to the
exer-

exercise of the *Militia*, so vast and large, is n
satisfactory to some men; which seem to b
Enemies not to Me onely, but to all Mona
chy; and are resolved to transmit to poster
such Iealousies of the Crowne, as they shou
never permit it to enjoy its just and necessar
Rights, in point of Power; to which (at last
all Law is resolved, while thereby it is be
protected.

But here Honour and Justice due to M
Successors, forbid Me to yeild to such a tota
alienation of that power from them, which c
vility & duty (no lesse then justice and honour
should have forbad them to have asked of Me

For, although I can be content to Eclyp
My owne beames, to satisfie their feares; wh
think they must needs be scorched or blinded
if I should shine in the full lustre of Kingl
Power, wherewith God and the Lawes hav
invested Me: yet I will never consent to pu
out the Sun of Soveraignty to all Posterity
and succeeding Kings; whose just recover
of their Rights from unjust usurpations an
extortions, shall never be prejudiced or ob
structed by any Act of Mine, which Indee
would not be more injurious to succeedin
Kings, then to My Subjects; whom I des
to leave in a condition not wholly desper
for the future; so as by a Law to be ever sub
ject to those many factious distractions
wh

which must needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which as it makes a shew to the People to have more eyes to foresee; so they will find it hath more mouthes too, which must be satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrosity, that any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy; where counsell may be in many as the senses, but the Supreme Power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily when men have tryed the horrours and malignant influence which will certainly follow My enforced darkness and Eclypse, (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that body, which as the Moone receiveth its chiefest light from Me) they will at length more esteeme and welcome the restored glory and blessing of the Suns light.

And if at present I may seem by My receding so much from the use of My Right in the Power of the *Militia*, to come short of the discharge of that trust to which I am sworne for My Peoples protection; I conceive those men are guilty of the enforced perjury, (if so it may seeme) who compell Me to take this new and strange way of discharging My trust, by seeming to desert it; of protecting My Subjects by exposing My self to danger or dishonour, for their safety and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of Civill Warre and ad-

advantages of Power cannot be effected but by some ſhe yeilding; to which the greateſt love of the publique Peace, and the firmeſt aſſurance of Gods protection (ariſing from a good conſcience) doth more invite Me, than can be expected from other mens fears; which ariſing from the injuſtice of their actions (though never ſo ſucceſsfull) yet dare not adventure their Authours upon any other way of ſafety then that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weak defences againſt the ſtroaks of divine vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens owne Conſciences, which alwaies attend injurious perpetrations.

For My ſelfe, I do not think that I can want any thing which providentiall neceſſity is pleaſed to take from Me, in order to My Peoples tranquillity, and Gods glory, whoſe protection is ſufficient for me; and he is able by his being with Me, abundantly to compenſate to Me, as he did to *Job*, whatever honour, power, or liberty the Caldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devill himſelf can deprive Me of.

Although they take from Me all defence of Armes and *Militia*, all refuge by land, of Forts, and Caſtles, all flight by Sea, in my Ships, and Navy; yea, though they ſtudy to rob me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greateſt Treaſure and beſt ammunition of a King; yet cannot they deprive me of my own innocen

innocency, or Gods mercy, nor obstruct my way to Heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I flie for help, if thou wilt be on my side, I shall have more with me then can be against me.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I desire in comparison of thee: In the losse of all, be thou more than all to me: Make haste to succour me, thou that never failest them, that put their trust in thee.

Thou seest I have no power to oppose them that come against me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me: But my eyes are toward thee.

Thou needest no help, nor shall I, if I may have thine; If not to conquer, yet at least to suffer.

If thou delightest not in my safety, and prosperitie, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me, whose Judgements oft begin with thy own Children.

I am content to be nothing, that thou mayest be all.

Thou hast taught me, That no King can be saved by the multitude of an Host; but yet thou canst save me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hosts, and the Father of mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am sore distressed on every side, yet be thou on my side, and I shall

not fear what man can do unto me.

I will give thy Iuſtice the glory of my diſtreſſe.

O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that perſecute my Soul!

By my ſins have I fought againſt thee, and robbed thee of thy glory, who am thy ſubject, and juſtly mayſt thou, by my own Subjects, ſtrip me of my ſtrength, and eclypſe my glory.

But ſhew thy ſelf, O my hope, and onely refuge! Let not mine enemies ſay, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my foot-ſteps ſlip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the ſhadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marveilous loving kindneſſe, O thou that ſaveſt by thy right hand them that put their truſt in thee, from thoſe that riſe up againſt them.

From the wicked that oppreſſe me, from my deadly enemies that compaſſe me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy preſence is fulneſſe of joy, at thy right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.

II. *Upon the* 19. *Propositions first sent to the* KING; *and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things; they demand, yet if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set My own safety, and My Peoples peace; which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, save onely the parting with My Conscience and Honour. If nothing else will satisfie, I must chuse rather to be as miserable, and inglorious, as My enemies can make or wish Me.

Some things here propounded to Me have been offered by Me; Others are easily granted; The rest (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon Me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of War; when I have already declared that I cannot yeild to them, without violating My Conscience: 'tis strange, there can be no method of peace, but by making war upon My soul.

Here are many things required of Me, but I see nothing offer'd to Me, by the way of gratefull exchange of Honour; or any requitall for these favours, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they do Me, to put Me on

on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot aske more than I can give, may I but reserve to My self the Incommunicable Jewell of my Conscience; and not be forced to part with that, whose losse nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleased to propound) seem unreasonable to me, and while I have any Mastery of my Reason, how can they think I can consent to them? Who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yeilding so much (as I have already) makes some men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of my Peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon me; but the love of Truth, and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken my outward state of a King; as wound that inward quiet of my Conscience, which ought to be, is, and ever shall be (by Gods grace) dearer to me then my Kingdoms.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and Policy are at some time to be denied, to some men, lest he should seem not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much incouragement to unreasonable demands, or importunities.

But to bind my self to a generall and implicite

cite conſent, to what ever they ſhall deſire, or propound, (for ſuch is one of their Propoſitions) were ſuch a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Freeman, nor fit to be required of any man, much leſſe of a King by His own Subjects; any of whom he may poſſibly exceed as much in wiſdom, as He doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampſon* ſhould have conſented, not onely to bind his own hands, and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philiſtins* might with the more ſafety mock, and abuſe him; which they choſe rather to doe, then quite to deſtroy him, when he was become ſo tame an object, and fit occaſion for their ſport and ſcorne.

Certainly, to exclude all power of deniall, ſeemes an arrogancy, leaſt of all becomming thoſe who pretend to make their addreſſes in an humble and loyall way of petitioning; who by that ſufficiently confeſſe their own inferiority, which obligeth them to reſt, if not ſatisfied, yet quieted with ſuch an anſwer as the will and reaſon of their Superiour thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reaſon, to Conſent, or Diſſent, elſe it were very fooliſh and abſurd to aſk, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be My Right belonging to Me,

in Reason, as a Man, and in Honour as a Soveraign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extream injury to confine my Reason to a necessity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whose minds may be as differing from Mine both in Reason and Honour, as their aims may be, and their qualities are; which last God and the Lawes have sufficiently distinguisht, making Me their Soveraign, and them My Subjects: whose Propositions may soon prove violent oppositions, if once they gain to be necessary impositions upon the Regall Authority. Since no man seeks to limit and confine his King in Reason, who hath not a secret aim to share with Him, or usurp upon Him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have Me trust to their moderation, and abandon Mine own discretion; that so I might verifie what representations some have made of Me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupill then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of My own sufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counsell of others: But yet I am not so diffident of My self, as brutishly to submit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Soveraignty of Reason in My Soul, and the Majesty of My own Crown to any of My Subjects.

Least of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce Me fully to submit to all the desires

of

of those men, who will not admit or do refuse, and neglect to vindicate the freedom of their own and others, sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the most part of) these propounders are; so that, till experience of one seven years hath shewed me, how well they can Govern themselves, and so much power as is wrested from me, I should be very foolish indeed, and unfaithfull, in my Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of my own, into their hands, whose driving is already too much like *Iehues*; and whose forwardnesse to ascend the throne of Supremacy pretends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phebus*; God divert the Omen if it be his will.

They may remember, that at best they sit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not my Superiours; called to be my Counsellours, not Dictatours: Their Summons extends to recommend their advice, not to command my Duty.

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent me I expected either some good Lawes, which had been antiquated by the course of time, or overlayd by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a restauration of their vigour and due execution, or some evill customes pre-

terlegall, and abuſes perſonall had been to be removed: or ſome injuries done by My ſelfe, and others, to the Common-weale, were to be repaired: or ſome equable offertures were to be tendred to Me, wherein the adventages of My Crown being conſidered by them, might fairly enduce Me to condiſcend, to what tended to My Subjects good, without any great diminution of My ſelf, whom nature, Law, Reaſon, and Religion, bind Me (in the firſt place) to preſerve: without which, 'tis impoſſible to preſerve My people according to My place.

Or (at leaſt) I looked for ſuch moderate deſires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiſſe in Church and State, as might ſtill preſerve the foundation and eſſentialls of Governement in both; not ſhake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Lawes in force, the wiſdom and pietie of former Parliaments, the ancient and univerſall practiſe of Chriſtian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet and thing offered in lieu, or in the roome of what muſt be deſtroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Inſtitution, and alſo ſupply its pretended defects, reforme its abuſes, and ſatisfie ſober and wiſe men, not with ſoft and ſpecious words, pretending zeal and ſpeciall pietie,

but

but with pregnant and solid reasons both divine and humane, which might justifie the abruptinesse and necessitie of such vast alterations.

But in all their propositions I can observe little of these kinds, or to these ends: Nothing of any Laws dis-jointed, which are to be restored; of any right invaded; of any justice to be un-obstructed; of any compensations to be made; of any impartiall reformation to be granted; to all, or any of which, Reason, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives, might induce me.

But as to the maine matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty, or difficulty. I perceive that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schismes in the Church, and so, punishable by the Lawes, have now the confidence; by vulgar clamours, and assistance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themselves, in their vanity, novelty, and confusion; but also Abolition of the Lawes against them: and a totall extirpation of that Governement, whose Rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the main; other propositions are (for the most part) but as waste paper in which those are wrapped up to present them somewhat more handsomely.

Nor doe I so much wonder at the variety,

and horrible novelty of ſome Propoſitions, (there being nothing ſo monſtrous, which ſome fancies are not prone to long for.)

This caſts me into, not an admiration, but an extaſie, how ſuch things ſhould have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*: amongſt whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either Houſe, whoſe judgements, free, ſingle, and apart, did approve or deſire ſuch deſtructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perſwaded there remains in far the Major part of both Houſes, (if free, and full) ſo much Learning, Reaſon, Religion, and juſt moderation, as to know how to ſever between the uſe and the abuſe of things; the inſtitution, and the corruption, the Government and the Miſgovernment, the Primitive Patterns, and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon ſo little, or no Reaſon (as yet produced to the contrary) ſo ſoon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their reforming Progenitors, to the proſperity of former times in this Church and State, under the preſent Government of the Church.

Yet, by a ſtrange fatality, theſe men ſuffer, either by their abſence, or ſilence, or negli-

gence

gence, or supine credulity (believing that all is good, which is guilded with shewes of Zeal and Reformation) their private dissenting in Judgement to be drawn into the common sewer or stream of the present vogue and humour, which hath its chief rise and abetment from those popular clamours and Tumults, which served to give life and strength to the infinite activity of those men, who studied with all diligence, and policy, to improve to their Innovating designes, the present distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions having so little, in My Judgement, of Reason, Iustice, and Religion on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise, must not go alone, but ever be backt and seconded, with Armies of Souldiers: Though the second should prevail against My Person, yet the first shall never overcome Me, further than I see cause; for, I look not at their number and power so much, as *I* weigh their Reason and *Iustice*.

Had the two Houses first sued out their livery, and once effectually redeemed themselves from the Wardship of the Tumults (which can be no other than the Hounds that attend the cry, and hollow of those Men, who hunt after Factious, and private Designes, to the ruine of Church and State.))

Did My judgement tell Me, that the Propo-

sitions

ſitions ſent to Me were the Reſults of the Major parts of their Votes, who exerciſe their fre dome, as well as they have a right to ſit in Parliament: I ſhould then ſuſpect My own judgment, for not ſpeedily and fully concurring with ever one of them.

For, I have charity enough to think, there are wiſe men among them: and humility to think, that, as in ſome things I may want; ſo 'tis fit I ſhould uſe their adviſe, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wiſdome ſuch a compleatneſſe and inerrability as to exclude My ſelfe; ſince none of them hath that part to Act, that Truſt to diſcharge, nor that Eſtate and Honour to preſerve as My ſelfe; without whoſe Reaſon concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is neceſſary in all natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publique wiſdome, which makes the Laws.

But the unreaſonableneſſe of ſome Propoſitions is not more evident to Me than this is, That they are not the joynt and free deſires of thoſe in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them ſavour very ſtrong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the name of Reformation; (which in My two laſt famous Predeceſſours dayes, heaved at, and

and ſometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments :) But, I am ſure was never wont ſo far to infect the whole maſſe of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kindome; however it diſperſed among the Vulgar : Nor was it likely ſo ſuddenly to taint the Major part of both Houſes, as that they ſhould unanimouſly deſire, and affect ſo enormous and dangerous innovations in Curch and State, contrary to their former education, practiſe, and judgement.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choyce of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countries; ſome thirſting after nothing more, than a paſſionate revenge of what ever diſpleaſure they had conceived againſt me, my Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reaſon bids me impute theſe ſudden and vaſt deſire of change to thoſe few who armed themſelves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No leſſe doth Reaſon, Honour, and Safety both of Church and State command me, to chew ſuch morſels, before I let them downe; If the ſtraitneſſe of my Conſcience will not give me leave to ſwallow down ſuch Camels, as others doe of Sacriledge, and injuſtice both to God and man, they have no more cauſe to quarrell with me, than for this, that my throat is not ſo wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I

am resolved That nothing of passion, or perverishnesse, or list to contradict, or vanity to shew my negative power, shall have any byas upon my judgment to make me gratifie my will by denying any thing, which my Reason and Conscience commands me to.

Nor on the other side, will I consent to more than Reason, Justice, Honour, and Religion perswade me, to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my own peace.

I will study to satisfie my Parliament, and my People; but I will never, for feare or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent soever; for this were to nourish the disease, and oppresse the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving mee, that free, and faithfull counsell, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder me from craving of the counsell of that mighty Counsellour, who can both suggest what is best, and incline my heart stedfastly to follow it.

O thou first and eternall Reason, whose wisdome is fortified with omnipotency, furnish thy Servant, first with cleare discoveries of Truth, Reason, and Justice, in My Understanding; then so confirm My will and resolution to adhere

to them, that no terrours, injuries, or oppressions of my Enemies may ever inforce me against those rules, which thou by them hast planted in My Conscience.

Thou never madest me a King that I should be lesse than a Man; and not dare to say Yea, or Nay, as I see cause; which freedome is not denied to the meanest creature that hath the use of Reason, and liberty of speech.

Shall that be blameable in Me, which is commendable veracity and constancy in others?

Thou seest O Lord, with what partiality, and injustice, they deny that freedome to Me their KING; which thou hast given to all men; and which Themselves pertinaciously callenge to themselves; while they are so tender of the least breach of their privileges.

Too thee I make my supplication, who canst guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our owne thoughts, and other mens proposalls; which I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by My granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in those difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict Me.

O Lord, make thy way plaine before Me.

Let not My own sinfull passions cloud, or divert thy sacred suggestions.

Let thy glory be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot please all, I care not to please some men; If I may be happy to please thee, I need not feare whom I displease

Thou that makest the wisdome of the world foolishnes, and takest in their own devices, such as are wise in their own conceits, make me wise by thy Truth, for thy honour, my kingdoms generall good, and my own souls salvation, and I shall not much regard the worlds opinion, or diminution of me.

The lesse wisdom they are willing to impute to me, the more they shall be convinced of thy wisdom directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of crosnesse, or humour; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any feare, or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to guiltie, or unhappy, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designs, which are injurious to the publique good, while I confirme them by my consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraude the publike of what is best, by any morose or perverse dissentings.

Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow their advise, when it appears to be for the publike good, of whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure Me.

Thou canst as well blesse honest errours, as blast fraudulent counsels.

Since we must give an account of every evil

and

and idle word in private, at thy Tribunall; Lord make me carefull of those solemne declarations of my minde which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publike, either for woe, or weale.

The lesse others consider what they ask, make me the more solicitous what I answer.

Though Mine own, and My Peoples pressures are grievous, and peace would be very pleasing; yet Lord, never suffer Me to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expense or waste of my Conscience; whereof thou O Lord only art deservedly more Master than my self.

12. *Upon the Rebellion, and troubles in* Ireland.

THE Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discern the rise, or apply a remedie to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that sea of blood, which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any man in eternall both infamy and misery, whom God shall finde the malicious Authour or instigator of its effusion.

It fell out, as a most unhappy advantage to some mens malice against me; that when they had

had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloody opportunity should be offered them, with which I must be aspersed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to me, being so full of sinne against God, disloyalty to my selfe, and destructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be beleeved when they affirmed, that what the Irish Rebels did, was done with my privity (at least) if not by my Commission: But these knew too well, that it is no news for some of my Subjects to fight, not only without my Commission, but against my Command, and Person too; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by my Authority, and for my Safety.

I would to God the *Irish* had nothing to alledge for their imitation against those, whose blame must needs be the greater, by how much Protestant Principles are more against all Rebellion against Princes, then those of Papists. Nor will the goodnesse of mens intentions excuse the scandall, and contagion of their Examples.

But who ever faile of their Duty toward me, I must bear the blame; this Honour my Enemies have alwaies done me, to think moderate injuries nor proportionate to me, nor competent tryals, either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

There

Therefore with exquiſite malice they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falſity and contempt, with the cup of my Affliction; Charging me not only with untruths, but ſuch, as wherein I have the greateſt ſhare of loſſe and diſhonour by what is committed; whereby (in all Policy, Reaſon, and Religion, having leaſt cauſe to give the leaſt content, and moſt grounds of utter deteſtation) I might be repreſented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like ſome Cyclopick monſter, whom nothing will ſerve to eat and drink, but the fleſh and bloud of my own Subjects; in whoſe common welfare my intereſt lies as much as ſome men do h in their perturbations: Who think they cannot do well but in evill times, nor ſo cunningly as in laying the *odium* of thoſe ſad events on others, wherewith themſelves are moſt pleaſed; and whereof they have been not the leaſt occaſion.

And certainly, 'tis thought by many wiſe men, that the prepoſterous rigour, and unreaſonable ſeverity, which ſome men carried before them in *England*, was not the leaſt incentive, that kindled, and blew up into thoſe horrid flames, the ſparkes of diſcontent, which wanted not pre-diſpoſed fewell for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where deſpaire being added to their former diſcontents, and the feares of utter extirpation

tirpation to their wonted oppreſſions, it was eaſie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough, to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by ſome Principles of their Religion, and the naturall deſires of libertie; both to exempt themſelves from their preſent reſtraits, and to prevent thoſe after rigours, wherewith they ſaw themſelves apparently threatned, by the covetous zeale, and uncharitable fury of ſome men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with Truth waſh my hands in Innocency, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; ſo I might waſh them in my Tears, as the ſad apprehenſions I had, to ſee it ſpread ſo farre, and make ſuch waſte. And this in a time, when diſtractions, and jealouſies here in *England*, made moſt men rather intent to their own ſafety, or deſignes they were driving, then to the relief of thoſe, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whoſe teare and blood might, if nothing elſe, have quenched, or at leaſt for a time, repreſſed and ſmothered thoſe ſparks of Civill diſſentions, and Jealouſies, which in *England* ſome men moſt induſtriouſly ſcattered.

I would to God no man had been leſſe affected with *Irelands* ſad eſtate then my ſelf; I offered to goe my ſelfe in Perſon upon that ex-

expedition; But ſome men were either afraid I ſhould have any one Kingdome quieted; or loath they were to ſhoot at any mark here leſſe then my ſelf; or that any ſhould have the glory of my deſtruction but themſelves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the ruine had been ſo great, nor the calamity ſo long, nor the remedy ſo deſperate.

So that, next to the ſin of thoſe, who began that Rebellion, theirs muſts needs bee: who either hindred the ſpeedie ſuppreſſing of it by Domeſticke diſſentions, or diverted the Aides, or exaſperated the Rebells to the moſt deſperate reſolutions and actions, by threatning all extremies, not onely to the known heads, and cheife incendiaries, but even to the whole communitie of that Nation; Reſolving to deſtroy Root and Branch, men, women and children; without any regard to thoſe uſuall pleas for mercy, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breaſts, in behalfe of thoſe, whoſe oppreſſive faces, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whoſe imbecilitie for Sex and Age was ſuch, as they could neither lift up a hand againſt them, nor diſtinguiſh between their right hand and their left: Which prepoſterous, and (I think) un evangelicall Zeale is too like that of the rebuked Diſciples,

who

who would go no lower in their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulse or neglect of a few; or like that of *Iacobs* sons, which the Father both blamed and curſed: chuſing rather to uſe all extremities, which might drive men to deſperate obſtinacy, then to apply moderate remedies: ſuch as might puniſh ſome with exemplary Iuſtice, yet diſarme others, with tenders of mercy upon their ſubmiſſion, and our protection of them, from the fury of thoſe, who would ſoon drown them, if they refuſed to ſwim down the popular ſtream with them.

But ſome kind of Zeale counts all merciſull moderation, luke-warmneſſe; and had rather be cruell then counted cold, and is not ſeldome more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harme he hath done. The confiſcation of mens eſtates being more beneficiall, then the charity of ſaving their lives, or reforming their Errours.

When all proportionable ſuccours of the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland* (who were daily maſſacred, and overborne with numbers of now deſperate Enemies) was diverted and obſtructed here; I was earneſtly entreated, and generally adviſed by the chief of the Proteſtant party there, to get them ſome reſpite and breathing by a ceſſation, without which they ſaw no probability (unleſſe by miracle) to pre-

erve the remnant that had yet escaped: God knowes with how much commiseration and olicitous caution I carried on that busineſſe, y persons of Honour and Integrity, that so I night neither incourage the Rebells Insolence, or discourage the Protestants Loyalty and atience.

Yet when this was effected in the best sort, hat the necessity and difficulty of affaires would then permit, I was then to suffer again n my Reputation and Honour, because I suffe-d not the Rebels utterly to devour the re-aining handfuls of the Protestants there.

I thought, that in all reason, the gaining of hat respite could not be so much to the Re-els advantages (which some have highly ca-umniated against me) as it might have been or the Protestants future, as well as present afety; If during the time of that Cessation, ome men had had the grace to have laid *Ire-lands* sad condition more to heart; and laid ide those violent motions, which were here arried on by those, that had better skill to et bloud than to stanch it.

But in all the misconstructions of my acti-ns, (which are prone to find more credulity n men to what is false, and evill, than love or harity to what is true and good) as I have no udge but God above me, so I can have com-ort to appeale to his omniscience, who doth

not

not therefore deny my Innocence, becauſe he is pleaſed ſo farre to try my patience, as he did his ſervant *Job*'s.

I have enough to doe to look to my own Conſcience, and the faithfull diſcharge of my Truſt as a *King*; I have ſcarce leiſure to conſider thoſe ſwarmes of reproaches, which iſſue out of ſome mens mouthes and hearts, as eaſily as ſmoke, or ſparks doe out of a fornace; Much leſſe to make ſuch prolix Apologies, as might give thoſe men ſatisfaction: who conſcious to their own depth of wickedneſſe, are loath to believe any man not to be as bad as themſelves.

'Tis Kingly to doe well, and heare ill: If I can but act the one, I ſhall not much regard to heare the other.

I thank God I can heare with patience, as bad as my worſt enemies can falſly ſay. And I hope I ſhall ſtill doe better than they deſerve or deſire I ſhould.

I believe it will at laſt appear, that they who firſt began to embroyle my other Kingdomes are in great part guilty, if not of the firſt letting out, yet of the not-timely ſtopping thoſe horid effuſions of bloud in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever my Enemies pleaſe to ſay, or think) I look upon, as that of my other Kingdomes, exhauſted out of my own veines; no man being ſo much weakned by it, as my ſelfe.

ſelfe; And I hope, though mens unſatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercy of God will at length ſay to his juſtice, *It is enough*: and command the Sword of Civill Wars to ſheath it ſelf: his mercifull juſtice intending, I truſt, not our utter confuſion, but our cure: the abatement of our ſinnes, not the deſolating of theſe Nations.

O my God, let thoſe infinite mercies prevent us once again, which I and my Kingdoms have formerly abuſed, and can never deſerve, ſhould be reſtored.

Thou ſeeſt how much cruelty among Chriſtians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Chriſtians, unleſſe we crucifie one another.

Becauſe we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiced in charity, thou haſt ſuffered a Spirit of Errour and bitterneſſe, of mutuall and mortall hatred to riſe among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have ſinned, and ſanctifie what we have ſuffered.

Let our Repentance be our recovery, as our great ſins have been our ruine.

Let not the miſeries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto ſuffered ſeem ſmall to thee: but make our ſins appear to our conſciences, as they are repreſented in the glaſſe of thy judgements; for thou never puniſheſt ſmal failings, with ſo ſevere afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our ſinnes, and remove thy judgements which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our ſins be ever more grievous to us, than thy judgements; and make us more willing to repent, than to be relieved; firſt give us the peace of penitent conſciences, and then the tranquility of united Kingdoms.

In the ſea of our Saviours blood drown our ſins, and through this red ſea of our own blood bring us at laſt to a ſtate of Piety, Peace and Plenty.

As my publike relations to all, make me ſhare in all my Subjects ſuffering; ſo give me ſuch a pious ſenſe of them, as becomes a Chriſtian King, and a loving Father of my People.

Let the ſcandalous and unjuſt reproaches caſt upon me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compaſſion; Give me grace to heap charitable coles of fire upon their heads to melt them, whoſe malice or cruel Zeale hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of thoſe flames, which have ſo much waſted my three Kingdoms.

O reſcue and aſsiſt thoſe poor Proteſtants in Ireland, *whom thou haſt hitherto preſerved.*

And lead thoſe in the wayes of thy ſaving Truths, whoſe Ignorance or errours have filled them with rebellious and deſtructive principles which they act under an opinion, That they doe thee good ſervice.

Let

Let the hand of thy justice be against those, who maliciously & despitefully have raised, or fomented these cruell and desperate warres. Thou that art far from destroying the innocent with the guilty, & the erroneous with the malicious; thou that hadst pity on Nineveh *for the many children that were therein, give not over the whole stock of that populous & seduced nation, to the wrath of those, whose covetousnes makes them cruell; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore justly curséd,*

Preserve, if it be thy will, in the midst of the fornace of thy severe justice, a posterity which may praise thee for thy mercy.

And deale with me, not according to mans unjust reproches, but according to the innocency of my Hands in thy sight.

If I have desired or delighted in the wofull day of my Kingdomes calamities, if I have not earnestly studied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of these bloody distractions; then let thy Hand be against me, and my Fathers House. O Lord, thou seest I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, so should not dare thus to imprecate thy curse on me and mine, if my conscience did not witnesse my integrity, which thou, O Lord, knowest right well. But I trust not to my owne merit, but thy mercies; spare us, O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

13. *Vpon the Calling in of the* Scots, *and their comming.*

THE *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Soveraignty, and Bounty, with my Father of blessed memory; but also speciall and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them so farre, that I seemed to many, to prefer the desires of that party, before My owne Interest and Honour. But, I see, Royall bounty emboldens some men to ask, and act beyond all bounds of modesty and gratitude.

My charity, and act of Pacification, forbids Me to reflect on former passages; wherein I shall ever be farre from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancy, make Me repent of what I granted them for the publique good: I pray God it may so prove.

The comming againe of that party into *England*, with an Army, onely to conforme this Church to their late new Modell, cannot but seeme as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand they had, (besides those common and vulgar flourishes

flouriſhes for Religion and Liberty) ſave only to confirm the Presbyterian Copy they had ſet, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloody characters.

Which deſigne and end, whether it will juſtifie the uſe of ſuch violent meanes before the divine Juſtice, I leave to their conſciences to judge, who have already felt the miſery of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdome, or that.

Such knots and croſneſſe of graine being objected here, as will hardly ſuffer that Forme which they cry up, as the only juſt reformation, and ſetling of Government and Diſcipline in Churches, to goe on ſo ſmoothly here, as it might doe in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when ſo many of the *Engliſh* Clergy, through levity, or diſcontent, if no worſe paſſion, ſuddenly quitted their former engagements to Epiſcopacy, and faced about to their Preſbytery.

It cannot but ſeem either paſſion, or ſome ſelfe-ſeeking, more then true Zeale, and pious Diſcretion, for any forraigne State, or Church, to preſcribe ſuch medicines onely for others, which themſelves have uſed, rather ſucceſſefully then commendably; not conſidering that the ſame Phyſick on different conſtitutions, will have different operations; That

may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor doe I know any such tough and malignant humors in the constitution of the *English* Church, which gentler Applications then those of an Army, might not easily have removed: Nor is it so proper to hew our religious Reformations by the Sword, as to polish them by faire and equall disputations among those that are most concerned in the differences, whom not Force, but Reason ought to convince.

But their designe now, seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, then to procure a faire and equall one: For, it was concluded there, that the *English* Clergy must conforme to the *Scots* pattern, before ever they could be heard what they could say for themselves, or against the others way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other mens consciences too, who can receive little satisfaction in these points which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, then Schollars disputing in free and learned Synods.

Surely in matters of Religion, those truths gain most on mens judgemen's and consciences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices;

and is unreasonable to be used, till such meanes of rationall conviction hath been applied, as leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemns mens obstinacy to deserved penalties.

Which no charity will easily suspect of so many learned and pious Church-men in *England*; who being alwayes bred up, and conformable to the Government of Episcopacy, cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion and practise, onely because that Party of the *Scots* will needs, by force assist a like Party here, either to drive all Ministers, as sheep into the common fold of Presbytery, or destroy them; at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbytery were proved to be the onely institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Governments; yet I believe it would be hard to prove that Christ had given those *Scots*, or any other of my Subjects, Commission by the Sword to set it up in any of my Kingdomes, without my Consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles pay'd to the chief Governours of States, where they lived is very clear in the Gospell; but that he, or they ever commanded to set such a parity of Presbyters, and in such a way as those *Scots* endeavour; I think is not very disputable.

If Presbytery in such a supremacy bee an institution of Christ; sure it differs from all others; and is the first and onely point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian blood; whose effusions runs in a stream so contrary to that of the Primitive planters, both of Christianity and Episcopacy, which was with patient shedding of their own blood, not violent drawing other mens; sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Christ, none of whose institutions were carried on, or begunne with the temptations of Covetousnesse or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which those *Scots* had by Army or Commissioners to move me with, by their many Solemne obtestations and pious threatnings, but onely this; to represent to me the wonderfull necessity of setting up their Presbytery in *England*, to avoid the further miseries of a Warre; which some men chiefly on this designe at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schismes, or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength and opportunitie, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, set up their wayes by the like methods of violence? all which Presbytery

bytery seeks to suppresse, and render odious under those names; when wise and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schisme, and Sectarisme, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and still most Universall way of the Church-government, and specially as to the particular Laws and Constitutions of this *English* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for me, till I see more Rationall and Religious motives, then Souldiers use to carry in their Knapsacks.

But wee must leave the successe of all to God, who hath many wayes (having first taken ns off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our passion) to teach us those rules of true Reason, and peaceable Wisdome, which is from above, tending most to Gods glory and his Churches good; which I think my self so much the more bound in conscience to attend, with the most judicious Zeale and care, by how much I esteem [illegible] Church above the State, the glory of Chri[illegible] [illegible]e mine Own; and the salvation of m[illegible] [illegible]s above the preservation of their Bo[illegible] [illegible] Estates.

Nor may an[illegible] [illegible] I think, without sinne and presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches under my care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, and fashioned to their designes, till they have first gained

my consent, and resolved, both my own and other mens Conscience by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motion, which are neither Manly, Christian, nor Loyall; shall never either shake or settle my Religion; nor any mans else, who knows what Religion means: And how farre it is removed from all Faction whose proper engine is force; the arbitrator of, beasts, not of reasonable men, much lesse of humble Christians, and Loyall Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they are not what cost they lay out upon their opinions; especially those, that have some temptation of gain, to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Scots* Armies comming in against my will, and their forfeiture of so many Obligations of duty, and gratitude to me: then I wondered, how those here, could so much distrust Gods assistance; who so much pretended Gods cause to the People, as if they had the certainty of some divine Revelation; considering they were more then competently furnished with my Subjects Armes and Ammunition; My Navie by Sea, my Forts, Castles, and Cities by Land.

But

But I find, that men jealous of the Juſtifiableneſſe of their doings, and deſignes before God, never think they have humane ſtrength enough to carry their work on, ſeem it never ſo plauſible to the People; what cannot be juſtified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet ſuch is the inconſtancy that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom ſome of them one while earneſtly invite to come into their aſſiſtance; others of them ſoone after are weary of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: what one Party thought to river to a ſetledneſs by the ſtrength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemnes; at once, deſpiſing the Kirk Government, and Diſciplin of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the ſucceſſe of ſo chargable, more then charitable aſſiſtance: For, ſure the Church of *England* might have purchaſed at a farre cheaper rate, the truth and happineſſe of Reformed Government and Diſciplin (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendom for their advice in a full and free Synod; which I was ever willing to, and deſirous of, that matters being impartially ſetled, might be more ſatisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods juſtice, and mans folly will at length be diſcovered, through all the

filmes

filmes and pretenſions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their deſignes; In vaine do men hope to build their piety on the ruines of Loyalty. Nor can thoſe conſiderations or deſigns be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of ſetting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as My beſt Subjects of *Scotland* never deſerted Me, ſo I cannot think that the moſt are gone ſo far from me, in a prodigality of their love and reſpects toward me, as to make mee to deſpaire of their return; when beſides the bonds of Nature and Conſcience, which they have to mee, all Reaſon and true Policy will teach them, that their chiefeſt intereſt conſiſts in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their ſerviceableneſſe to any Party of the People, to neglect and betraying of My Safety and Honour for their own advantages: However the leſſe cauſe I have to truſt to men, the more I ſhall apply my ſelf to God.

The Troubles of my Soule are enlaged, O Lord, bring thou me out of My diſtreſſe.

Lord direct thy Servant in the ways of that pious ſimplicity, which is the beſt policy.

Deliver Me from the combined ſtrength of thoſe, who have ſo much of the Serpents ſubtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them not

pre-

prevaile against my Soule, to the betraying of my Conscience and Honour.

Thou, O Lord, canst turn the hearts of those Parties in both Nations, as thou didst the men of Judah *&* Israel, *to restore* David *with as much loyall zeale, as they did with inconstancie and eagernesse pursue him.*

Preserve the love of thy Truth and unrightnesse in Mee, and I shall not despaire of My Subjects affections returning towards mee.

Thou canst soon cause the overflowing Seas to ebbe, and retire back againe to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.

O My God, I trust in thee; let me not be ashamed; let not my enemies triumph over Mee.

Let them be ashamed who transgresse without a cause; let them be turned back that persecute my Soule.

Let integrity and uprightnesse preserve me, for I wait on thee O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

14. *Upon*

14. *Upon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in, have pawned their Soules to them, by a Solemne League and Covenant:

Where many engines of religious and faire pretensions are brought chiefly to batter, or raise Episcopacy: This they make the grand evill Spirit, which, with some other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar, must by so solemne a charm and exorcism be cast out of this Church, after more than a thousand years possession here, from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island, and an universall prescription of time and practise in all other Churches since the Apostles times till this last Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for it, Presbytery, like a young Heire, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to be in the Bishops Chair and Authority (though Lay-men go away with the Revenues) all art is used to sink Episcopacy, and lanch Presbytery in *England*; which was lately boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although

Although I am unsatisfied with many passages in that Covenant (some referring to My self with very dubious and dangerous limitations (yet I chiefly wonder at the designe and drift touching the Discipline and Government of the Church; and such a manner of carrying them on to new waies, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no lesse, then swearing for, or against those things, which are of no cleare moral necessity; but very disputable, and controverted among learned and godly men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgment, and certainty in ones selfe, or that charity and candour to others of different opinion, as I think religion requires, which never refuses fair and equable deliberations; yea, and dissentings too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoyning of Oaths upon People must needs in things doubtfull be dangerous, as in things unlawfull, damnable; and no lesse superfluous, where former religious and legall Engagements, bound men sufficiently, to all necessary duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with their former Protestation which was so lately taken, to maintain the Religion established in the Church of *England*; since they count Discipline so great a part of Religion.

But

But ambitious minds never think they have laid snares and ginnes enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for by such politicke and seemingly pious stratagems, they think to keep the populacy fast to their Parties under the terrour of perjury: Whereas certainly all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegience, and lawes, to God and man.

Nor can such after-Contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared Party, without My consent, and without any like power or president from Gods or mans laws, be ever thought by judicious men sufficient either to absolve or slacken those morall and eternall bonds of duty which lie upon all My Subjects consciences both to God and Me.

Yet as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or Mee. by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawfull waies; since I have the charity to think, that the chief end of the Covenant in such mens intentions, was, to preserve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms in peace: To other then such ends and meanes they cannot think themselves engaged; nor will those, that have any true touches of Conscience endeavour to carry on the best designes, (much lesse such as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious)

by

by any unlawfull meanes, under that title of the Covenant: unleſſe they dare preferre ambiguous, dangerous and un-authorized novelties, before their knowne and ſworne duties, which are indiſpenſable, both to God and My ſelfe.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many who took the Covenant, are yet firme to this judgment, That ſuch later Vowes, Oaths, or Leagues, can never blot out thoſe former gravings, and characters, which by juſt and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Soules.

That which makes ſuch Confederations by way of ſolemn Leagues and Covenants more to be ſuſpected, is, That they are the common road, uſed in all factious and powerfull perturbations of State or Church: When formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety are never more ſtudied and elaborate, then, when Politicians moſt agitate deſperate deſignes againſt all that is ſetled, or ſacred in Religion, and Laws, which by ſuch ſcrues are cunningly, atet forcibly wreſted by ſecret ſteps, and leſſe ſenſible degrees, from their known rule and wonted practiſe, to comply with the humours of thoſe men, who ayme to ſuddue all to their owne will and power, under the diſguiſes of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and wythes will hold mens Conſciences no longer, then force attends

and

and twists them: for every man soon grows his own Pope, and easily absolves himselfe those ties, which, not the commands of God word, or the Lawes of the Land, but only the subtility and terrour of a Party casts on him; either superfluous and vain, when they were sufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by such after-ligamens they find the Imposers really ayming to dissolve, or suspend their former, just, and necessary obligations.

Indeed, such illegall wayes seldome, or never, intend the engaging men more to duties but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Design intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven; as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and relish, who will but swallow it: They admit any mens senses of it, the diverse or contrary; with any salvoes, cautions and reservations, so as they crosse not their chief Design, which is laid against the Church and Me.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a seeming encrease to their Party; So little doe men remember that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense; I believe many

at love Me, and the Church well, may have
ken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly
nd superstitiously taken by it, as now to act
early against both all piety and loyalty: who
rst yeilded to it, more to prevent that immi-
ent violence and ruine, which hung over their
eads in case they wholly refused it, then for
ny value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of some generall
Clauses may (perhaps) serve somewhat to re-
eve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring
hat lawfully they may*, in *their Places and
Callings*, and *according to the Word of God*:
or these (indeed) carry no man beyond those
ounds of good Conscience, which are certain
xed, either in Gods Lawes, as to the Gene-
ll; or the Lawes of the State and Kingdom,
to the particular regulation and exercise of
ens duties.

I would to God such as glory most in the
me of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves
ithin those lawfull bounds, to which God
ath called them: Surely it were the best way
o expiate the rashnesse of taking it: which
ust needs then appeare, when besides the
want of a full and lawfull Authority at first
o enjoyne it, it shall actually be carried on be-
ond and against those ends which were in
specified and pretended. I willingly forgive
ch mens taking the Covenant, who keep

it

it within such bounds of Piety, Law, and L
alty, as can never hurt either the Church
self, or the Publique Peace: Against which
mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Chu
which the Covenant pretends, I cannot t
it just or comely, that by the partiall adv
a few Divines, (of so soft and servile temp
as disposed them to so sudden acting and c
pliance, contrary to their former judgeme
profession, and practise) such foule scan
and suspitions should be cast upon the D
ctrine and Government of the Church
England, as was never done (that I have he
by any that deserved the name of *Refor*
Churches abroad, nor by any men of lear
and candour at home, all whose judgeme
I cannot but prefer before any mens now
ciously engaged.

No man can be more forward then My
to carry on all due Reformations, with
ture judgement, and a good Conscience
what things I shall (after impartiall adv
be, by Gods Word, and right reason con
ced to be amisse, I have offered more then
the fullest, freest, and wisest Parliaments
desire.

But the sequele of some mens actions m
it evident, that the maine Reformation int
ded, is the abasing of Episcopacy into P
by

erty, and the robbing the Church of its nds and Revenues: For, no man have been ore injuriously used, as to their legall Rights en the Bishops, and Church-men. These, the fattest Deare, must be destroyed; the her Rascal-herd of Schismes, Heresies, &c. ing leane, may enjoy the benefit of a Tole-tion: Thus *Naboth's* Vine-yard made him e onely Blasphemer of his Citie, and fit to e. Still I see, while the breath of Religion ls the Sailes, Profit is the Compasse, by hich Factious men steer their course in all se-itious Commotions.

I thank God, as no men lay more open to e sacrilegious temptation of usurping the hurches Lands, and Revenues, which issu-g chiefly from the Crowne, are held of it, nd legally can revert onely to the Crowne vith My Consent) so I have alwayes had such perfect abhorrence of it in My Soule, that I ever found the least inclination to such sacri-gious Reformings: yet no man hath a grea-r desire to have Bishops and all Church-men reformed, that they may best deserve and se, not onely what the pious munificence of y Predecessours hath given to God and the hurch, but all other additions of Christian ounty.

But no necessity shall ever, I hope, drive Me Mine to invade or sell the Priests Lands, which

which both *Pharaoh's* divinity, and *Joseph's* true piety abhorred to doe: So unjuſt I think it both in the eye of Reaſon and Religion, to deprive the moſt ſacred employment of due incouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and encreaſe the Taske; ſo purſuing the oppreſſed Church, as ſome have done, to the Red-ſea of a Civill Warre, where nothing but a miracle can ſave either It, or Him, who eſteems it his greateſt Title to be called, and His chief glory to be *The Defender of the Church, both in it's true Faith, and it's juſt fruitions; equally abhorring, Sacriledge, and Apoſtacy.*

I had rather live as my Predeceſſour *Henry* 2. ſometime did, on the Churches Almes, then violently to take the bread out of Biſhops and Miniſters mouths.

The next work will be *Jeroboam's* reformation, conſecrating the meaneſt of the People to be Prieſts in *Iſrael*, to ſerve thoſe Golden Calves who have enriched themſelves with the Churches Patrimony & Drowry; which how it thrived both with Prince, Prieſts, & People is well enough known: And ſo it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have been nurſing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it ſhall be at their allowance, who have already diſcovered, what hard Fathers, and Stepmothers they will be

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the lenty of *England* cannot excuse the envy and pine of the Churches Rights and Revenues,

I cannot so much as pray God to prevent hose sad consequences, which will inevitably llow the parity and poverty of Ministers, oth in Church and State; since I think it no sse then a mocking and tempting of God, to esire him to hinder those mischiefs whose occasions and remedies are in our own power; being every mans sin not to avoid the one, nd not to use the other.

There are wayes enough to repair the breaches of the State without the ruines of the Church; as I would be a Restorer of the one, o I would not be an Oppressour of the other, nder the predence of Publique Debts: The ccasions contracting them were bad enough, ut such a discharging of them would be much orse; I pray God neither I, nor Mine, may e accessary to either.

To thee, O Lord, do I addresse My prayer, beseeching thee to pardon the rashnes of My Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their sense and observation of those just, morall, and indispensable bonds, which thy Word, and the Lawes of this Kingdome have laid upon their Consciences; From which no pretensions of Piety & Re-

formation

formation are sufficient to absolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practises.

Make them at length seriously to consider that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou allowest no mans committing Sacrilege under the zeale of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious designes to have the countenance of religious ties.

Thou hast taught us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are holy, and after Vows to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy Servant from consenting to perjurious and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all posterity of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though My Treasures are Exhausted, My Revennues Diminished, and My Debts Encreased, yet never suffer Me to be tempted to use such profane Reparations; lest a coal from thine Altar set such a fire on My Throne and Conscience as will be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publique, which some mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of peace upon us; The Church is never likely, in

time,

times, where the Charity of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberall.

Continue to those that serve Thee and thy Church all those incouragements, which by the will of the pious Donors, and the justice of the Laws are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poore; That thy Priests may be cloathed with righteousnesse, and the poore may be satisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured neither digest with them, nor theirs; Let them be as Naboth's *Vineyard to* Ahab, *gall in their mouths, rottennesse to their names, a moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.*

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations, to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have handyed together against the Church and State, that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favour my righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the most High, I may never miscarry.

15. *Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the* KING, *to stir up the People against Him.*

IF I had not My own Innocency, & Gods protection, it were hard for Me to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Falsities seek to oppresse the Truth; and by Jealousies to supply the defect of Reall causes, which might seem to justifie so unjust Engagements against Me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostility come short of these Designes: For, I can more willingly loose My Crowns, than My Credit; nor are my Kingdoms so dear to Me, as My Reputation and Honour.

Those must have a period with My life; but these may survive to a glorious kind of Immortality, when I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternity of love and gratitude among Posterity.

Those foul and false aspersions were secret engins at first employed against My Peoples love of Me: that undermining their opinion and value of Me, My enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their loyaltie.

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment of

of My Honor is not so afflictive to Me, as the sin and danger of My peoples souls, whose eyes once blinded with such mists of suspicions, they are soon mis-led into the most desperate precipices of actions: wherin they do not onely, not consider their sin and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them so fit to be destroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of My Destroyers; Imagining they then fear God most, when they least honour their King.

I thank God. I never found but My pity was above My anger; nor have My passions ever so prevailed against Me, as to exclude My most compassionate prayers for them, whom devout errors more than their own malice have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the charity to interpret, that most part of My Subjects fought against My supposed Errors, not My Person; and intended to mend Me, not to end Me: And I hope that God pardoning their Errors, hath so far accepted and answered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preserved Me, so he hath by these afflictions prepared Me, both to do him better service, and My people more good, than hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their se-

ductions, which occasioned their loyall injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjust suspitions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to My own Affections toward the generality of my people, to suspect theirs to Me; nor shal the malice of My Enemies ever be able to deprive Me of the comfort, which that confidence gives Me; I shall never gratifie the spightfulnes of a few with any sinister thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst some mens ambition can doe, shall never perswade Me, to make so bad interpretations of most of My Subjects actions; who possibly may be Erroneous, but not Hereticall in point of Loyalty.

The sense of the Injuries done to my Subjects is as sharp, as those done to My self; our welfares being inseparable: in this only they suffer more then My self, that they are animated by some seducers to injure at once both themselves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it must be done by such instruments, that my afflictions grieve Me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperity I earnestly desire, and whose seduction I

heartily deplore.

If

If they had been My open and forraigne Eenemies, I could have born it; but they must be My own Subjects, who are next to My Children, dear to Me: And for the restoring of whose tranquillity, I could willingly be the *Jonah*; If I did not evidently foresee, that by the divided Interest of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrary winds the storm of their miseries would be rather increased then allayed.

I had rather prevent My peoples ruin then Rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion which is but My Right, as of their happines; if it could expiate, or countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the highest injuries of Subjects committed against their Soveraign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries of life, and die many deaths, then shamefully to desert, or dishonourably to betray My own just Rights and Soveraignty; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or justifie the malice of My Enemies; between whose malice, and other mens mistakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leprosie of Disloyaltie.

As liars need have good memories, so Malicious persons need good inventions; that

their calumnies may fit every mans fancy; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew.

My patience (I thank God) wil better serve Me to bear, and My charity to forgive, then My leisure to answer the many false Aspersions which some men have cast upon Me.

Did I not more consider My Subjects Satisfaction, then My own Vindication; I should never have given the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see Me take notice of, or remember what they say, or object.

I would leave the Authors to be punished by their own evil manners, and seared consciences, which will, I believe, in a shorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and false Scandals, which they have cast on Me; And make the world see, there is as little truth in them as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or civility, (I need not say loyalty) in the not-suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation, even with the people, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of that same fornace of popular obloquy, and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of infamy, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume My Name and Honour.

First nothing gave Me more cause to sus-

pect,

ſpect, and ſearch My own Innocency; then when I obſerved ſo many forward to engage againſt Me, who had made great profeſſions of ſingular piety; For this gave to vulgar minds ſo bad a reflection upon Me, and My Cauſe, as if it had been impoſſible to adhere to Me, and not withall part from God; to think or ſpeak well of Me, and not to Blaſpheme him; ſo many were perſwaded that theſe two were utterly inconſiſtent, to be at once Loyall to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary ſize, and that vulgar proportion, wherein ſome men glory ſo much) who were ſo wel ſatisfied in the cauſe of My ſufferings, that they choſe rather to ſuffer with Me, then forſake Me.

Nor is it ſtrange that ſo religious Pretenſions as were uſed againſt Me, ſhould be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppoſe Me; Eſpecially, being urged by ſuch popular Preachers, as think it no ſin to lie for God, and what they pleaſe to call Gods Cauſe, curſing all that will not curſe with them; looking ſo much at, and crying up the goodneſſe of the end propounded, that they conſider not the lawfulneſſe of the means uſed, nor the depth of the miſ-

cheif, chiefly plotted and intended. The weaknes of theſe mens judgments muſt be made up by their clamours and activity.

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion to ſcandalize Me and Mine, they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not down Mine as falſe.

I thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the conſtancy of my Religion, in the Proteſtant profeſſion of the Church of *England*, both abroad, and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any exception, I am ſo liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixednes in that Religion, whoſe judicious and ſolid grounds, both from Scripture, & Antiquity, will not give My Conſcience leave to approve or conſent to thoſe many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of ſome men would needs obtrude upon Me, and My People.

Contrary to thoſe well tried foundations both of truth, and order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have ſetled in the Confeſſion and Conſtitution of this Church in *England*, which many former Parliaments in the moſt calm, and unpaſſionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I ſhall ever, by Gods help, perſevere, in beleeving it hath moſt of Primitive truth in Order.

Nor

Nor did my using the assistance of some Papists, which were my Subjects, any way fight against My Religion, as some men would needs interpret it: especially those who least of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they said, and did, so they might prevaile.

Tis strange that so wise men, as they would be esteemed, should not conceive, that differences of perswasion in matters of Religion may easily fall out, where there is the sameness of duty, Allegiance, and subjection. The first they own as men, and Christians to God; the second, they owe to Me in Common, as their *King*; different professions in point of Religion cannot (any more than in civill Trades) take away the community of relations either to parents, or to Princes. And where is there such an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the world again, as those men entertain in their service (who find most fault with me) without any scruple, as to the diversity of their Sects and Opinions.

It was indeed, a foule and indelible shame, for such as would be counted Protestants, to inforce Me, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessary use of Papists, or any other, who did but their duty to help Me to defend My self.

Nor did I more than is lawfull for any King, in such exigents to use the aide of any his Subjects.

I am sorry the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance, than many Protestant Professours; who seem to have learned, and to practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unseasonable scruple in Me, (and very pleasing no doubt to My Enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in My Subjects when I was disputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects as men, no lesse then their prayers as Christians.

The noise of My Evill Counsellours was another usefull device for those, who were impatient any mens counsels but their own, should be followed in Church or State; who were so eager in giving Me better counsel that they would not give Me leave to take it with freedom, as a Man, or honour as a King; making their councels more like a drench that must be powred down, than a draught which might be fairly and leisurely dranke, if I liked it.

I will not justifie beyond humane errours and frailties My self, or My Councellours; They might be subject to some miscarriages,

ges, yet such as were far more reparable by second and better thoughts, than those enormious extravagances, wherewith some men have now even wildred, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last wil make it evident to My Subjects, that had I followed the worst councels, that My worst Councellours ever had the boldnes to offer Me, or My self any inclination to use, I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdoms, to such a *Chaos* of confusions, and Hell of miseries, as some have done; out of which they cannot or will not in the midst of their many great advantages, redeem either Me, or My Subjects.

No men were more willing to complain, than I was to redresse what I saw in Reason was either done or advised amisse; and this I thougt I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were sorry to see me prone even to injure My self, out of a Zeal to relieve my Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon Me, My Court, and My Clergy; hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My, either Retractations, or Con ssions; and withall, hath deprived all those (now so zealous Persecuters) both

of

of the comfort and reward of their former pretended perſecutions, wherein they ſo much gloried among the vulgar; and which indeed, a truly humble Chriſtian will ſo highly prize, as rather not be relieved, then be rev nged, ſo as to be bereaved of that Crown of Chriſtian Patience, which attends humble and injured ſufferers.

Another artifice uſed to withdraw My peoples affections from Me, to their deſigns was, the noiſe and oſtentation of liberty, which men are not more prone to deſire, then unapt to bear in the popular ſenſe; which is to do what every man liketh beſt.

If the Divineſt liberty be to will what men ſhould, and to do what they ſo will, according to Reaſon, Laws, and Religion; I envie not My Subjects that liberty, which is all I deſire to injoy My ſelf; So far am I from the deſire of oppreſſing theirs: Nor were thoſe Lords & Gentlemen which aſſiſted Me ſo prodigal of their liberties as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the inſlaving of themſelves and their poſterities.

As to Civil Immunities, none but ſuch as deſire to drive on their ambitious and covetous deſigns over the ruins of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and People, will ever deſire greater Freedomes then the Laws allow; whoſe bounds good men count their

Ornа-

Ornament and Protection; others their Menacles and Oppreſſion.

Nor is it juſt any man ſhould expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who deſpiſeth his rule and direction; loſing juſtly his ſafety while he ſeeks an unreaſonable liberty.

Time will beſt inform My Subjects, that thoſe are the beſt preſervers of their true liberty, who allow themſelves the leaſt licentiouſnes againſt, or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at laſt to their coſt, that it is impoſſible thoſe men ſhould be really tender of their fellow-ſubjects liberties, who have the hardines to uſe their King with ſo ſevere reſtraints; againſt all Laws, both Divine and Humane, under which, yet, I will rather periſh, then to complain to thoſe, who want nothing to compleat their mirth and triumph, but ſuch muſick.

In point of true conſcientious tenderneſſe (attended with humility and meeknes, not with proud & arrogant activity, which ſeeks to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schiſme) I have oft declared, how little I deſire My Laws and Scepter ſhould intrench on Gods Soveraignty, which is the only King of mens Conſciences; and yet he hath laid ſuch reſtraints upon men, as commands them to be ſubject for

Conſcience

Conſcience ſake, giving no men liberty to break the Law eſtabliſhed, further then with meeknes and patience, they are content to ſuffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publick Peace.

The truth is, ſome men thirſt after Novelties, others deſpair to relieve the neceſſities of their fortunes, or ſatisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (diſtruſting Gods providence, as well as their own merits) were the ſecret (but principal) impulſives to theſe popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perſwaded to expend much of thoſe plentiful eſtates they got, and enjoyed under My government, in peaceable times; which yet muſt now be blaſted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent; and My ſelf expoſed to all thoſe contempts, which may moſt diminiſh the Majeſty of a King, and increaſe the ungratefull inſolencies of My People.

For Mine Honour, I am well aſſured, that as Mine Innocency is clear before God, in point of any calumnies they object; ſo My reputation ſhall like the Sun (after Owles and Bats have had their freedome in the night and darker times) riſe and recover it ſelf to ſuch a degree of ſplendour as thoſe fer all birds ſhall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes

more

more glorious than those whom God hath sufferd to be tried in the fornace of afflictions, by their injurious Subjects.

And who knowes but the just and mercifull God will do Me good, for some mens hard false, and evill speeches against Me; wherein they speak rather what they wish, than what they believe, or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honor, by those rude & scandalous Pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations, flie up & down to set all places on like flames) than those men do, who pretending to so much piety, are so forgetful of their duty to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majesty of their *King* against any of those, who conrary to the precept of God, & precedents of Angels, *speak evill of dignities, and bring railing accusations against those* who are honoured with the name of *Gods*.

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing *God*, should not Honour their *King*.

They will easily contemn such shadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and adorable Majesty, in comparison of whom all the glory of Men & Angels is but obscurity; yet hath he graven such Characters of divine Authority, and Sacred power upon Kings, as none may without sin seek to blot them out. Nor shal their black veiles be able

shining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently and humbly to converse with him, from whom alone are all the traditions of true glory and majesty.

Thou O Lord knowest My reproach, and My dishonour, My Adversaries are all before thee.

My Soule is among Lyons, among them that are set on fire, even the Sons of Men; whose teeth are spears and arrows; their tongue a sharp sword.

Mine enemies reproach me all the day long, and those that are mad against Me are sworne together.

O My God, how long shall the sonnes of men turn my glory into shame? how long shall they love vanity, and seek after lies?

Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on every side. Hold not thy peace, lest my Enemies prevaile against me, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies: the Lord will abhorre both the blood-thirsty, and deceitfull men.

Make my righteousnesse to appeare as the light, and mine innocency to shine forth as the Sun at noon day.

Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocence, nor my displeasure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again; and being cursed by them, I may blesse them.

Thou

Thou that wouldst not suffer Shimeis *tongue to go unpunished; when by thy judgements on* David *he might seem to justifie his disdainfull reproaches, give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for these my enemies, that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternall fire may not be brought upon them.*

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to coole and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let me be happy to refute, and put to silence their evill speaking by well doing; and let them injoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me Davids *patience and* Hezekiahs *devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and see thy justice in their sin.*

Let Shebas *seditious speeches,* Rabshekahs *railing, and* Shimeis *cursing, provoke, as my humble prayer to thee, so thy renewed blessing toward me.*

Though they curse, do thou blesse, and I shall be blessed, and made a blessing to my people.

That the stone, which some builders refuse, may become the head stone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and save me, from the reproach of them that would swallow me up.

Hide me in the secret of thy presence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the strife of tongues.

16. *Upon*

16. *Upon the Ordinance againſt the Common Prayer-Book.*

IT is no news to have al Innovations uſhered in with the name of Reformation in Church and State, by thoſe, who ſeeking to gain reputation with the vulgar for their extraordinary parts, and piety, muſt needs undo whatever was formerly ſetled never ſo well and wiſely.

So hardly can the pride of thoſe that ſtudie Novelties, allow former times any ſhare or degree of wiſdom or godlineſſe.

And becauſe matter of prayer & devotion to God juſtly bears a great part in religion (being the Souls more immediate converſe with the divine Majeſty) nothing could be more plauſible to the people than to tell them, They ſerved God amiſſe in that point.

Hence our publique Liturgy, or Forms of conſtant Prayers muſt be (not amended, but what upon free and publique advice might ſeem to ſober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I ſhould eaſily conſent, but) wholly caſhiered, and aboliſhed, and after many popular contempts offered to the Book, and thoſe that uſed it according to their Conſciences, and the Laws in force, it muſt be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to pleaſe either thoſe men, who glo-

ried in their extemporary vein and fluency: or others, who conscious to their own formality in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a totall rejection of it as a dead letter, therby to excuse the deadnesse of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of piety to make what profane objections they could against it; especially for Popery and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using Set & prescribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholsom words being known and fitted to mens understandings, are sooneſt received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a well-composed Liturgy (as I hold this to be) more than of all other things, wherein the Constancy abates nothing of the excellency and usefulnesse. I could never see any reason, why any Christian

stian should abhorre, or be forbidden to the same Forms of prayer, since he prais the same God, believes in the same Savio professeth the same truths, reads the sa Scriptures, hath the same duties upon hi and feels the same daily wants for the m part, both inward and outward, which a common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well before hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what sense; when we de sire the same things, what hinders we may not use the same words? our appetite and disgestion too may be good when we use, as we pray for, *our daily bread.*

Some men, I heare are so impatient not to use in all their devotions their own inven tion, and gifts, that they not only dispise (too many) but wholly cast away and con temn the *Lords Prayer*; whose great guilt is that it is the warrant and originall patter of all set Liturgies, in the Christian Church.

I ever thought that the proud ostentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of variety for expressions in publique prayer, or any sacred administration merits a greater brand of sin, than that which they call coldnes and barrennes: are men in those novelties lesse subject to formall and superficiall tempers (as to the heart

hearts) than in the use of constant forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame. I make no doubt but a man may be very formal in the most extempory variety; and very fervently devout in the most wonted expressions: Nor is God more a God of variety, than of constancy: Nor are constant formes of Prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of prayer, and devotion, than un-premeditated and confused variety to distract, and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discret, & humble use of Ministers gifts, even in publique, the better to stir, & excite their own, & the Peoples affections to the present occasions; yet I know no necessity why private & single abilities should quite justle out and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities & concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men; such as the Composers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reason be thought to have more of gifts & graces enabling them to compose with serious deliberation & concurrent advice, such Forms of prayers, as may best fit the Churches common wants, inform the Hearers understanding, & stirre up that fiduciary and fervent application of their spirits (wherein consists the very life & soul of prayer, and that so much pretended Spirit of prayer)

than

than any private man by his ſolitary abilities can be preſumed to have; which, what they are manytimes (even there, where they make a great noiſe and ſhew) the affectations, emptines, impertinency, rudenes, confuſions, flatnes, levity, obſcurity, vain, and rediculous repetitions, the ſenſleſſe, and oftimes blaſphemous expreſſions; all theſe burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable length, do ſufficiently convince al men, but thoſe who glory in that phariſaick way.

Wherin men muſt be ſtrangely impudent, & flatterers of themſelves, not to have an infinite ſhame of what they ſo do and ſay, in things of ſo ſacred a nature, before God and the Church, after ſo rediculous, and indeed, prophane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramentall adminiſtrations, and the like, which are ſtill the ſame; Miniſters muſt either come to uſe their own forms conſtantly, which are not like to be ſo ſound, or comprehenſive of the nature of the duty, as forms of publick compoſure; or elſe they muſt every time affect new expreſſions when the ſubject is the ſame; which can hardly be preſumed in any mans greateſt ſufficiencies not to want (many times) much of that compleatnes, order, and gravity, becoming thoſe duties; which

by

y this meanes are expoſed at every cele-
ration to every Miniſters private infirmi-
es, indiſpoſitions, errors, diſorders, & de-
ects, both for judgement and expreſſion.
A ſerious ſenſe of which inconvenience in
he Church unavoidably following every
mans ſeverall manner of officiating, no
doubt, firſt occaſioned the wiſdom and pie-
y of the ancient Churches, to remedy thoſe
miſchiefs by the uſe of conſtant Liturgies
of publick compoſure.

The want of which I believe this Church
will ſufficiently feel, when the unhappy
fruits of many mens ungoverned ignorance
and confident defects, ſhall be diſcovered in
more errors, ſchiſmes, diſorders, & uncharі-
able diſtractions in Religion, which are al-
eady but too many, the more is the pity.

However, if violence muſt needs bring in,
and abett thoſe innovations, (that men
may not ſeem to have nothing to do) which
Law, Reaſon, and Religion forbids, at leaſt
o be ſo obtruded, as wholly to juſtle out the
publick Liturgie.

Yet nothing can excuſe that moſt unjuſt
nd partiall ſeverity of thoſe men, who ei-
her lately had ſubſcribed to, uſed & main-
ained the Service-book; or refuſed to uſe it,
uied out of the rigour of Laws & Biſhops,
which ſuffered them not to uſe the liberty

of

of their Conſcience, in not uſing it.

That theſe men (I ſay) ſhould ſo ſuddenly change the Lyturgy into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expreſſions; or as if matter preſcribed did not as much ſtint & obſtruct the Spirit, as if it were cloathed in, and confined to, ſet words: (So ſlight and eaſie is that Legerdemain which wil ſerve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they ſhould uſe ſuch ſeverity as not to ſuffer without penalty, any to uſe the Common-prayer-book publickly, although their conſciences bind them to it, as a duty of piety to God, and obedience to the Laws. Thus I ſee, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, & more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegal novelties, then ſuch, whoſe pride was formerly leaſt diſpoſed to the obedience of lawfull Conſtitutions; & whoſe licentious humours muſt pretended Conſcientious liberties, which freedom, with much regret they now allow to Me, and My Chaplains, when they may have leave to ſerve Me, whoſe abilities, even in their extemporary way comes not ſhort of the others, but their modeſty and learning far exceeds the moſt of them.

But this matter is of ſo popular a nature, as ſome men knew it would not bear learned & ſober debates, leſt being convinced by the evidence

dence of Reaſon, as well as Laws, they ſhould have beene driven either to ſin more againſt their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgie; or to diſpleaſe ſome faction of the people by continuing the uſe of it.

Though I beleeve they have offended more conſiderable men, not only for their numbers and eſtates, but for their weighty and judicious piety, than thoſe are, whoſe weakneſſe or giddineſſe they ſought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greateſt faults ſome men found with the Common-Prayer-Book, I beleeve, was this, That it taught them to pray ſo oft for Me; to which Petitions they had not Loyaltie enough to ſay *Amen*, nor yet Charity enough to forbeare Reproaches, and even Curſings of Me in their own formes, inſtead of praying for Me.

I wiſh their Repentance may be their only puniſhment; that ſeeing the miſchiefs, which the diſuſe of publicke Liturgies hath already produced, they may reſtore that credit, uſe, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Forms of ſound and wholſome words.

And thou, O Lord which art the ſame God, bleſſed for ever: whoſe mercies are full of variety, and yet of conſtancy, Thou denieſt us not a

new and fresh sense of our old and daily wants; nor despisest renewed affections joyned to constant expressions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and wel-advised devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwaies the same, and the fervency of our spirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not, but thy spirituall perfections are such, as thou art neither to be pleased with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious constancy of our petitions in them both.

Whose variety or constancy thou hast no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be used, neither despised.

Keepe men in that pious moderation of their judgements in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their owne abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Errour consists in novelty and variety, as Truths in unity and constancy: Suffer not thy Church to be pestered with errours, and deformed with undecencies in thy service, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity, and or-

der, under this fallacy, that constancy is the cause of formality.

Lord keepe us from formall Hypocrisie in our owne hearts, and then wee know that praying to thee, or praising of thee (with David, *and other holy men) in the same formes cannot hurt us.*

Give us wisdome to amend what is amisse within us, and there will be lesse to mend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blinde zeale, and over-bold devotion.

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17. *Of the differences betweene the* KING *and the two Houses, in point of Church-Government.*

TOuching GOVERNMENT of the Church by Bishops, the common jealousie hath been, that I am earnest and resolute to maintaine it, not so much out of piety, as policy, and reason of State. Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I finde it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unless he hath such an influence upon Church-men; and they such a dependance on Him, as may

beſt reſtraine the ſeditious exorbitancies of Miniſters tongues; who with the Keyes of Heaven have ſo farre the Keys of the Peoples hearts, as they prevail much by their Oratory to let in, or ſhut out, both Peace and Loyalty.

So that I being (as King) intruſted by God, and the Lawes, with the good both of Church and State; I ſee no Reaſon I ſhould give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reaſon I ought to have over both.

The moving Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers (of which I have elſwhere given an account) was ſufficient to take off any ſuſpicion, that I encline to them for any uſe to be made of their Votes in State affaires: Though indeed I never thought any Biſhop worthy to ſit in that Houſe, who would not Vote according to his Conſcience.

I muſt now in Charity be thought deſirous to preſerve that Government in its right conſtitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both My judgement is fully ſatisfied, that it hath of all other the fulleſt Scripture grounds, and alſo the conſtant practiſe of all Chriſtian Churches; till of late yeares, the tumultuarineſſe of People, or the factiouſneſſe and pride of Presbyters, or the covetouſneſſe of ſome States and Princes, gave occaſion to ſome mens wits to invent new models, and propoſe them

them under ſpecious titles of *Chriſt Government, Scepter, and Kingdome*; the better to ſerve their turns, to whom the change was beneficiall.

They muſt give Me leave, (having none of their temptations to invite Me to alter the Government of Biſhops, (that I may have a title to their Eſtates) not to believe their pretended grounds to any new waies: contrary to the full, and conſtant teſtimony of all Hiſtories, ſufficiently convincing unbiaſed men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apoſtles and their immediate Succeſſours the firſt & beſt Biſhops; ſo it cannot in reaſon or charity be ſuppoſed, that all Churches in the world ſhould either be ignorant of the rule by them preſcribed, or ſo ſoon deviate from their divine & holy pattern: That ſince the firſt Age for 1500 years not one Example can be produced of any ſetled Church, wherin were many Miniſters and Congregations, which had not ſome Biſhop above them under whoſe juriſdiction and government they were.

Whoſe conſtant and univerſall practiſe agreeing with ſo large and evident Scripture-directions, and examples, are ſet down in the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the ſetling of that Government not in the perſons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the ſucceſſion;

(the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more dispence with, in point of wel-being, than the want of the word and Sacraments in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to looke with so envious an eye upon Bishops power and authority, as to oversee both the Ecclesiasticall use of them, and Apostolicall constitution: which to me seems no lesse evidently set forth as to the maine scope and designe of those Epistles, for the setling of a peculiar Office, Power, and authority in them as President-Bishops above others, in point of Ordination, Censures, and other acts of Ecclesiasticall discipline: then those shorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyter-Bishops, and Deacons, are described in some parts of the same Epistles; who in the latitude and community of the name were then, and may now more improperly be cal'd *Bishops*; as to the oversight and care of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or those Apostolicall Bishops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) succeeded them in that ordinary power, there assigned over larger divisions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humility of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles as a name in the Churches stile apropriated from its common notion (*of a Messenger, or one sent*) to that speciall

ſpeciall dignity which had extraordinary call, miſſion, gifts, and power immediately from Chriſt: they contented themſelves with the ordinary titles of Biſhops and Presbyters, untill uſe, (the great arbitrator of words, and maſter of language) finding reaſon to diſtinguiſh by a peculiar name thoſe perſons, whoſe power and office were indeed diſtinct from, and above all other in the Church, as ſucceeding the Apoſtles in the ordinary and conſtant power of governing the Churches, the honour of (whoſe name they moderately, yet commendably declined) all Chriſtian Churches (ſubmitting to that ſpeciall authority) appropriated alſo the name of *Biſhop*, without any ſuſpicion or reproach of arogancy, to thoſe, who were by Apoſtolicall propagation rightly deſcended & inveſted into that higheſt and largeſt power of governing even the moſt pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt had many ſuch holy Biſhops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*; whoſe ſpeciall power is not more clearly ſet down in thoſe Epiſtles (the chiefe grounds and limits of all Epiſcopall claime, as from divine right) then are the characters of theſe perilous times, and thoſe men that make them ſuch; who not enduring ſound doctrine, and cleare teſtimonies of all Churches practiſe, are moſt perverſe Diſputers, and proud Uſurpers, againſt

true Episcopacy: who, if they be not Traytours and Boasters, yet they seem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded; inordinate and fierce lovers of themselves, having much of the form, little of the power of godlinesse.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, seek to over-lay & smother the pregnancy & authority of that power of Episcopall Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all after Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, then a Prince, that Posterity may see (if ever these Papers be publique) that I had faire grounds both from Scripture-Canons, and Ecclesiasticall examples, whereon my judgement was stated for Episcopall Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obstinacy of will, or partiality of affection, either to the men, or their Function which fixed Me: who cannot in point of worldly respects be so considerable to Me as to recompence the injuries and losses I and My dearest relations with My Kingdomes have sustained, and hazarded, chiefly at first upon this quarrell.

And not onely in Religion of which Scripture is the best rule, and the Churches Universall practise the best commentary, but also in right reason, and the true nature of Government,

vernment; it cannot be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters, or Ministers, should be any more against Christianity then it is in all secular and civill Governments, where parity breeds Confusion and Faction.

I can no more believe, that such order is inconsistent with true Religion, then good feature; are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed several orders, & a Prelacy, in the Government of his Church, among the Jewish Priests, should abhor or forbid them amongst Christia Ministers; who have as much of the principles of schisme and division as other men; for preventing and suppressing of which, the Apostolicall wisdome (which was divine) after that Christians were multiplied so many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might best preserve order and union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdome and piety of the Apostles, that first settled Bishops in the Church; which Authority they constantly used, and injoyed in those times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this

Presidency and Authority in one man, by the joynt Counsell and consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit meanes to avoid those Errours, Corruptions, and Partialities, which are incident to any one man; Also to avoyd Tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men; besides, it will be a meanes to take away that burden, and *odium* of affaires, which may ly too heavy on one mans shoulders, as indeed I thinke it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, then such a frame of Government which is Paternall, not Magisteriall; and wherein not only the necessity of avoyding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equalls in power and function; but also the differences of some Ministers gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to those Abilities, wherein they are Eminent.

Nor is this judgement of Mine touching Episcopacy, any preoccupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it: It is well knowne I have endeavoured to satisfie My selfe in what the chiefe Patrons for other wayes can say against this, or for theirs: And I finde they have, as far lesse of Scripture grounds, and of Reason; so for examples,

amples, and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they are wholly destitute, wherein the whole streame runs so for Episcopacy, that there is nor the least rivulet for any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late Reformed Churches, (for many retain Bishops still) whom necessity of times and affaires rather excuseth, then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquity; I could never see any reason why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Bishops should be forced to conforme to those few, rather then to the Catholique example of all Ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And to those Churches at this day, who Governed by Bishops in all the Christian world, are many more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be; All whom the Churches in My three Kingdomes lately Governed by Bishops, would equalize (I thinke) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdome or charity, where Christians differ, (as many doe in some points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian world (except a handfull of some Protestants) so great a scandall in point of Church-Government; whom, though you may convince of their Errours in some points of Doctrine, yet you shall

ſhall never perſwade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they muſt neceſſarily deſert, and wholly caſt off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primative, and Apoſtolicall: So far, that never Schiſmaticks, nor Hereticks (except thoſe Arians) have ſtrayed from the Unity, and Conformity of the Church in that point; ever having Biſhops above Presbyters.

Beſides, the late generall approbation and ſubmiſſion to this Government of Biſhops by the Clergy, as wel as the Laity of theſe Kingdomes, is a great confirmation of My Judgment; and their inconſtancy is a great prejudice againſt their novelty; I cannot in charity ſo far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they underſtood not what heretofore they did; or that they did conform contrary to their Conſciences; So that their facility & levity is never to be excuſed, who, before ever the point of Church-government had any free & impartiall debate, contrary to their former Oathes and practice, againſt their obedience to the Lawes in force, and againſt My conſent, have not only quite cryed down the Government by Biſhops; but have approved & incouraged the violent and moſt illegall ſtripping all the Biſhops, and many other Churchmen of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the

the selling away, and utter alienation of those Church-lands from any Ecclesiasticall uses. So great a power hath the stream of times, and the prevalency of parties over some mens judgements; of whose so sudden and so totall change, little reason can be given, besides the *Scots* Army comming into *England*.

But the folly of these men will at last punish it selfe, and the Desertors of Episcopacy will appeare the greatest Enemies to, and Betrayers of their owne interest: for Presbytery is never so considereable or effectuall as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Episcopacy. All Ministers will find as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of the people, and of Princes, as plants doe between being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberall dewes of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will soone let them see, what a poore carcasse they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacy they have been sworne.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs; I am firme to Primitive Episcopacy, not to have it extirpated (if I can hinder it.) Discretion without passion might easily reforme whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of Lawes, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a grosse

vulgar

vulgar errour to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times, or persons; which seditious and popular principle, and practise all wise men abhor.

For those seculat additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civill Honour and Estate, which my Predecessors, and Christian Princes in all Countreies have annexed to Bishops and Church-men; I looke upon them, but as just rewards of their learning, and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; also enablements to works of Charity, and Hospitality, meet strengthnings of their Authority in point of respect, and observance; which in peacefull times is hardly payed to any Governours by the measure of their vertues, so much as by that of their Estates; Poverty and meanesse exposing them and their authority to the contempt of licentious minds and manners, which persecuting Times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthy of those incouragements, and best able to use them: if at any time my judgement of men failed my good intention made my errour venisil: And some Bishops, I am sure, I had, whose learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But, of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governours to be redeemed from

that

that vulgar neglect; which (beſides an innate principle of vitious oppoſition, which is in all men againſt thoſe that ſeem to reprove, or reſtraine them) will neceſſarily follow both the Presbyterian parity, which makes all Miniſters equall; and the Independent inferiority, which ſets their Paſtors below the People.

This for my judgement touching Epiſcopacy, wherein (God knows) I do not gratifie any deſigne or paſſion with the leaſt perverting of Truth.

And now I appeale to God above, and all the Chriſtian world, whether it be juſt for Subjects, or pious for Chriſtians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with ſervile reſtraints to ſeeke to force Me their KING and Soveraigne, as ſome men have endeavoured to doe, againſt all theſe grounds of my Judgement, to conſent to their weake and divided novelties. The greateſt Pretender of them deſires not more then I do, That the Church ſhould be governed, as Chriſt hath appointed, in true Reaſon, and in Scripture; of which, I could never ſee any probable ſhew for any other waies: who either content themſelves with the examples of ſome Churches in their infancy & ſolitude; when one Presbyter might ſerve one Congregation, in a City or Countrey; or elſe they deny theſe moſt evident Truths, That the Apoſtles were Biſhops over

thoſe

those Presbyters they ordained as well as over the Churches they planted; and that Government being necessary for the Churches wel-being, when multiplied & sociated, must also necessarily descend from the Apostles to others, after the example of that power & superiority, they had above others; which could not end with their persons; since the use and ends of such Government still continue.

It is most sure, that the purest Primitive and best Churches flourished under Episcopacy; and may so still, if ignorance, superstition, avarice, revenge, and other disorderly and disloyall passions had not so blowne up some mens minds against it, that what they want of Reasons or Primitive Patterns, they supply with violence and oppression; wherein some mens zeale for Bishops Lands, Houses, and Revenues hath set them on work to eate up Episcopacy: which (ho vsoever other men esteem) to Me is no lesse sin, than Sacriledge; or a robbery of God (the giver of al we have) of that portion which devout minds have thankfully given againe to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whose hands he graciously accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himself.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable

to my judgement, I am ſolemnly obliged to preſerve that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfullneſſe of the Function, as Antichriſtian, (which ſome men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could ſoone, with Judgement, breake that Oath, which erroneouſly was taken by Me.

But being daily by the beſt diſquiſition of truth, more confirmed in the Reaſon and Religion of that, to which I am Sworn; How can any man that wiſheth not My damnation, perſwade me at at once to ſo notorious and combined ſins, of Sacriledge & Perjury? beſides the many perſonall Injuſtices I muſt doe to many worthy men, who are as legally inveſted in their Eſtates, as any, who ſeeke to deprive them; and they have by no Law, been convicted of thoſe crimes, which might forfeit their Eſtates and Lively-hoods.

I have oft wondred how men pretending to tenderneſſe of Conſcience and Reformation, can at once tell Me, that My Coronation Oath binds Me to Conſent to whatſoever they ſhall propound to Me, (which they urge with ſuch violence) though contrary to all that Rational and Religious freedome which every man ought to preſerve; & of which they ſeeme ſo tender in their own Votes; yet at the ſame time theſe men will needs perſwade Me,

That

That I must, and ought to dispence with, and roundly breake that part of My Oath, which binds Me (agreeable to the best light of Reason and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legall Rights of the Church. 'Tis strange My lot should be valid in that part, which both My selfe, and all men in their own case, esteeme injurious and unreasonable, as being against the very naturall and essentiall liberty of our soules; yet it should be invalid, and to be broken in another clause, wherein I thinke My selfe justly obliged, both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held so long, by some mens ambitious Covetousnesse, and sacrilegious Cruelty; torturing (with Me) both Church and State, in Civill dissentions; till I shall be forced to consent, and declare that I doe approve, what (God knowes) I utterly dislike, and in My soule abhor; as many wayes highly against Reason, Justice, and Religion: and whereto if I should shamefully, and dishonourably give My consent; yet should I not by so doing, satisfie the divided Interests and Opinions of those Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against Me and Episcopacy.

Nor can My late condescending to the *Scots* in point of Church-government, be rightly objected

jected against Me, as an inducement for Me, to consent to the like in My other Kingdoms; For it should be considered that Episcopacy was not so rooted and setled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom as in this; for what I think in My judgement best, I may not thinke so absolutely necessary for all places, & at all times.

If any shall impute My yielding to them, as My failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do so againe, or much worse; I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath My yielding to them been so happy and successfull as to incourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as to Meekenesse, Justice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty in those that pretend to other modes of Government, I might suspect My judgement to be biassed, or fore-stalled with some prejudice and wontednesse of opinion; but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrary in the manners of many of those men, that I cannot from them gain the least reputation for their new wayes of Government.

Nor can I find that in any Reformed Churches (whose paternes are so cryed up, and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) that either Learning, or Religion, works of Piety or Charity, have so flourished be-

beyond what they have done in my Kingdomes (by Gods blessing) which might make Me believe either Presbytery or Independency have a more benigne influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, than Episcopacy in its right constitution.

The abuses of which, deserve to be extirpated, as much as the use retained; for I think it farre better to hold to primitive and uniforme Antiquity, than to comply with divided novelty.

A right Episcopacy would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters and sober People; so as Church affaires should be managed neither with tyrannie, parity nor popularity; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despited, nor People oppressed.

And in this integrity both of my Judgement and Conscience, I hope God will preserve Me.

For thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightnesse and tenderneſſe, as thou hast set me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protectour of thy Church, so suffer me not by any violence, to be overborne against my Conscience.

Arise O Lord, maintaine thine owne Cause, let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apostles, hath

been retained in pureſt and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of ſingular envy, which ſeeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me as the good Samaritan, compaſſionate and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which ſome men have wounded and robbed, others paſſe by without regard, either to pitty, or relieve.

As my power is from thee, ſo give me grace to uſe it for thee.

And though I am not ſuffered to be Maſter of my other Rights as a KING, yet preſerve me in that liberty of Reaſon, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conſcience as a Chriſtian.

Preſerve, from Sacrilegious invaſions, thoſe temporall bleſſings which thy providence hath beſtowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their ſinnes and errours, who have deſerved thy juſt permiſſion, thus to let in the wild Boare, and ſubtill Foxes, to waſte and deforme thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven ſo long watered to a happy and flouriſhing eſtate.

O let me not beare the infamous brand to all Poſterity of being the firſt Chriſtian KING in this Kingdome, who ſhould conſent to the oppreſſion of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; thoſe errours I would rather, with Conſtantine, cover with ſilence, and reforme with meekneſſe, than

than expose their persons, and sacred Functions to vulgar contempt.

Thou, O Lord, seest how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both me, and it, from unreasonable men; whose counsels have brought forth, and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches Peace; thereby letting in all manner of errours, schismes, and disorders.

O thou God, of order, and of truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, asswage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devices of thine, mine and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may sing praises to thee, and ever magnifie thy salvation, even before the sons of men.

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18. *Upon* Vxbridge-*Treaty, and other Offers made by the* King.

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like men; whose strength should be more in their understandings, than in their limbs.

And though I could seldome get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; having greater confidence of my Reason, than my Sword: I

was so wholly resolved to yeeld to the first, that I thought neither My selfe, nor others, should need to use the second, if once wee rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Me, to prevent them with Expresses of My desires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not onely of humanity, rather to use Reason, then Force; but also of Christianity to *seek peace and ensue it.*

As I am very unwillingly compelled to defend My selfe with Armes; so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to Peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civill War uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the mischiefe of the meanes.

Nor did any successe I had ever enhaunce with Me the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by Me as any man; though I was like to pay dearer for it than any man: All that I sought to reserve was, Mine Honour, and My Conscience; the one I could not part with as a KING, the other as a Christian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the fairest hops of an happy composure; had others applied themselves to it with the same moderation, as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as far as Reason, Honour, and Conscience, would give Me leaue

leave; nor were the remaining differences so essentiall to My Peoples happinesse or of such consequence; as in the least kind to have hindred my Subjects either security, or prosperity; for they better enjoyed both many years, before ever those demands were made, some of which to deny, I thinke the greatest Justice to My self, and favour to my Subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allayed as they are raised: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, than to Engage: what is wanting in equity, must be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or to lose in Warre, studied to render the very name of *Peace* odious and suspected.

In Church affaires, where I had least liberty of prudence, having so many strict ties of Conscience upon me; yet I was willing to condescend so farre to the setling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetousnesse, or superstition had not engaged more, than any true zeale, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yeild to all that might seem to advance true piety; I onely sought to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Maintenance; and Authority to the Churches Government; and what I am perswaded (as I have elsewhere set downe My thoughts more fully

fully) is most agreeable to the true principles of all Government, raised to its full stature and perfection, as also to the primitive Apostolicall patterne, and the practice of the Universall Church conform thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reason urged or answered, onely to satisfie some mens wills and fantasies (which yet agree not among themselves in any point, but that of extirpating Episcopacy, and fighting against Me) must needs argue such a softnesse, and infirmity of mind in Me, as will rather part with Gods Truth, then Mans Peace, and rather lose the Churches honour, then crosse some mens factious humours.

God knowes, and time will discover, who were most to blame for the un-successfulnesse of that Treaty, and who must bear the guilt of after-calamities. I beleeve, I am very excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavoured no lesse the restauration of peace to my people, then the preservation of my own Crowns to my posterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all faire condescendings, as arguments of feebleneſſe, and glory most in an unflexible stiffnesse, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was alwayes

to aske ſomething, which in reaſon and honour muſt be denyed, that they might have ſome colour to refuſe all that was in other things granted; ſetting Peace at as high a rate, as the worſt effects of War; endeavouring firſt to make Me deſtroy My ſelfe by diſhonourable Conceſſions, that ſo they might have the leſſe doe.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world ſee how, little I would denie, or they grant, in order to the Publique peace.

That it gave occaſion to ſome mens further reſtiveneſſe, is imputable to their owne depraved tempers, not to any Conceſſions or Negations of Mine: I have alwaies the content of what I offered, and they the regret and blame, for what they refuſed.

The higheſt tide of ſucceſſe ſet me not above a Treatie, nor the loweſt ebbe below a Fight: Though I never thought it any ſigne of true valour, to be prodigall of mens lives, rather then be drawne to produce our own Reaſons, or ſubſcribe to other mens.

That which made Me for the moſt part preſage the unſucceſfulneſſe of any Treatie, was, ſome mens unwillingneſſe to Treat: which implied ſome things were to be gained by the Sword, whoſe ureaſonableneſſe they were loath to have fairly ſcanned, being more pro-

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per to be acted by Souldiers, than by Counsellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking: and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunity to use such moderation, as was then wanting; that so though Peace were for our sins justly deferred, yet at last it may be happily obtained; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gaine by our Prayers.

O Thou, that art the God of Reason and of Peace, who disdainest not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of attonement, and beseeching them to be reconciled with thy selfe: who wantest not power, or justice, to destroy them; yet aboundest in mercy to save: soften our hearts by the blood of our Redeemer, and perswade us to accept of peace with thy self, and both to procure and preserve peace among our selves, as Men and Christians, How oft have I intreated for Peace, but when I speake thereof, they make them ready to War.

Condemne us not to our passions, which are destructive, both of our selves, and of others,

Clear up our understandings to see thy Truth, both in Reason, as Men; and in Religion, as Christians: and encline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charity which should be among our selves.

Remove the evils of war we have deserved, & bestow upon us that peace which only Christ our great Peace-maker can merit.

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19. *Upon the various events of the warre, victories, and defeats.*

THe various successes of this unhappy war, have at least, afforded me variety of good meditations: sometimes God was pleased to try me with victory, by worsting my enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and use his power, who is the onely true Lord of Hosts; able when he pleases to represse the confidence of those who fought against mee with so great advantage for power and number.

From small beginnings on my part, hee let me see, that I was not wholly forsaken by my peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise my patience, and teach me not to trust in the arm of Flesh, but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the justice of my cause, and those that were with me wanted

wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them and Mee: Nor were My enemies lesse punished by that prosperity, which hardened them to continue that injustice by open hostilitie, which was begun by most riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but personall and private sins may oft-times over-balance the Justice of Publick engagements; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the worlds esteem) a fit instrument to assert in the way of War a righteous Cause; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour and strength, the lesse doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am sure the event or successe can never state the Justice of any Cause, nor the peace of mens Consciences, nor the eternall fate of their Soules.

Those with Me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Justification the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land, together with their own Oathes; all requiring obedience to My just Commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or against Me, in the point of raising Armes.

Those on the other side are forced to flie to the shifts of some pretended Fears, and wilde fundamentals of State (as they call them)

which actually overthrow the preſent fabrick, both of Church and State; being ſuch imaginary Reaſons for ſelfe-defence as are moſt impertinent for thoſe men to alledge, who being My Subjects, were manifeſtly the firſt aſſaulters of Me and the Lawes: firſt by unſuppreſſing the Tumults, after by liſted Forces: The ſame Allegations they uſe, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to ſecond with the Sword, all their demands againſt the preſent Laws & Governou s; which can never be ſuch as ſome ſide or other will not finde fault with, ſo as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion againſt them, ſome paraſitick Preachers have dared to call thoſe Martyrs, who died fighting againſt Me, the Lawes, their Oathes, and the Religion Eſtabliſhed.

But ſober Chriſtians know, That glorious Title, can with Truth be applied only to thoſe, who ſincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all theſe particulars before their lives, and all that was deare to them in this world; who having no advantageous deſignes by any Innovation, were Religiouſly ſenſible of thoſe ties to God, the Church, and my ſelfe, which lay upon their ſoules, both for obedience, and juſt aſſiſtance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crown many of them with

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eternall life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause; The destruction of their Bodies being Sanctified as a means to save their soules.

Their wounds, and Temporall ruine serving as a gracious opportunity for their eternall health and happinesse; while the evident approach of death, through Gods grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their present engagement would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutish and disloyall fiercenesse could deprive them of; or without Repentance hope to injoy.

They have often indeed, had the better against my side in the Field, but never, I believe, at the Bar of Gods Tribunall, or their owne Consciences; where they are more afraid to encounter those many pregnant Reasons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Christian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuse them *in* their owne thoughts, then they oft were in a desperate bravery to fight against those Forces, which sometimes God gave Me.

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man, (that duly values his duty, his soul, and eternitie, beyond the enjoyments of this present life) then the most

triumphant glory, wherein their and Mine Enemies ſupervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their ſuſpitious, or now convicted Conſciences doe purſue them, eſpecially ſince they and all the world have ſeen, how falſe and un-intended thoſe pretenſions were, which they firſt ſet forth, as the onely plauſible (though not juſtifiable) grounds of raiſing a War, and continuing it thus long againſt Me, and the Lawes eſtabliſhed; in whoſe ſafetey and preſervation all honeſt men think the welfare of their Country doth conſiſt.

For, and with all which, it is farre more honourable and comfortable to ſuffer, then to proſper in their ruine and ſubverſion.

I have often prayed, that all on My ſide might joyn true pietie with the ſenſe of their Loyalty; and be as faithfull to God and their own ſoules, as they were to Me. That the defects of the one might not blaſt the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any ſhews, or truth of pietie on the other ſide were ſufficient to diſpence with, or expiate the defects of their Dutie and Loyaltie to Me; which have ſo pregnant convictions on mens Conſciences, that even profaner men are moved by the ſenſe of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any victory which was without

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My ſorrow, becauſe it was on Mine own Subjects, who, like *Abſolom*, died many of them in their ſin: And yet I never ſuffered any Defeat, which made Me deſpaire of Gods mercy and defence.

I never deſired ſuch Victories, as might ſerve to conquer, but onely reſtore the Laws and Liberties of My people; which I ſaw were extreamly oppreſſed, together with My Rights by thoſe men, who were impatient of any juſt reſtraint.

When Providence gave Me, or denied Me Victory, My deſire was neither to boaſt of My power, nor to charge God fooliſhly; who I beleeved at laſt would make all things to work together for My good.

I wiſhed no greater advantages by the War, then to bring My Enemies to moderation, and my Friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an abſolute conqueſt, and never prayed more for victory over others, than over my ſelf. When the firſt was denied, the ſecond was granted me which God ſaw beſt for me.

The different events were but the methods of divine juſtice, by contrary winds to winow us: That, by puniſhing our ſins, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to uſe ſo great a bleſſing.

My often Meſſages for Peace ſhewed, that I delighted not in War: as my former Conceſſions ſufficiently teſtified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My totall unpreparedneſſe for it, how little I intended it.

The conſcience of My Innocence forbade Me to feare a War; but the love of My Kingdomes commanded Me (if poſſible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this War of nothing, but this, That I gave ſuch advantages to ſome men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to uſe with that modeſty, and gratitude, which became their Loyalty and My confidence.

Had I yielded leſſe, I had been oppoſed leſſe; had I denyed more, I had beene more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occaſions of the War; I wiſh onely a happy concluſion, of ſo unhappy beginnings: The inevitable fate of our ſinnes was (no doubt) ſuch, as would no longer ſuffer the divine juſtice to be quiet: we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutuall conquerings, to deſtroy one another: for, the moſt proſperous ſucceſſes on either ſide, impaire the welfare of the whole.

Thoſe Victories are ſtill miſerable, that leave our ſinnes unſubdued; flushing our pride,

pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it selfe is not desireable, till repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more against our selves, and lesse against God, we shall cease fighting against one another; I pray God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to an happy conclusion of these Civill Wars; that I may know better to obey God, and govern My People, and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor doe I desire any man should be further subject to Me, then all of us may be subject to God.

O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach me the noblest victory over my self, and my Enemies by patience; which was Christs conquest, and may well become a Christian King.

Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting; fashion us to that frame of piety thou likest best.

Forgive the pride that attends our prosperous, and the repinings, which follow our disastrous events; when going forth in our owne strength thou withdrawest thine, and goest not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are something, and when

we are nothing; that thou mayest have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou O Lord knowest, how hard it is for me to suffer so much evil from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compell me to inflict upon them; punishing my self in their punishments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a Sufferer; I beseech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which onely can be sufficient for me.

As I am most afflicted, so make me most reformed: that I may be not onely happy to see an end of these civill distractions, but a chief Instrument to restore and establish a firm, and blessed Peace to my Kingdoms.

Stirre up all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reason, moderation, and such self-deniall, as becomes those, who consider that our mutuall divisions are our common distractions, and the Union of all is every good mans chiefest interest.

If O Lord, as for the sins of our peace, thou hast brought upon us the miseries of War; so for the sins of War thou shouldst see fit still to deny us the blessing of peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries; yet give me thy Ser-

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vant, and all Loyall, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to me the blood of my Subjects, which with infinite unwillingneſſe and griefe, hath been ſhed by me, in my juſt & neceſſary defence; but waſh me with that pretious blood, which hath been ſhed for me, by my great Peace maker, Jeſus Chriſt. Who will, I truſt, redeem me ſhortly out of all my troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but ſhort, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

20. *Upon the Reformation of the Times.*

NO Glory is more to be envied than that, of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are ſuch, that the perturbation and noveltie are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God ſhould not honour me ſo far, as to make me an Inſtrument of ſo good a work, yet I ſhould be glad to ſee it done.

As I was well pleaſed with this Parliaments firſt intentions to reform what the Indulgence of Times, and corruption of manners might have depraved; ſo I am ſorry to ſee after the free-

freedome of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppreſſed, how little regard was had to the good Lawes eſtabliſhed, and the Religion ſetled; which ought to be the firſt rule and ſtandard of reforming: with how much partiallity, and popular complyance the paſſions, and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the Publique, and the infinite ſcandall of the Reformed Religion?

What diſſolutions of all Order, and Government, in the Church? what novelties of Schiſmes, and corrupt opinions? what undecencies and confuſions in ſacred adminiſtrations? what ſacrilegious invaſions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church? what contempt and oppreſſions of the Clergy? what injurious diminutions and perſecutings of Me, have followed, (as ſhowres do warm gleames) the talke of Reformation, all ſober men are Witneſſes, and with My ſelfe, ſad Spectators hitherto.

The great miſcarriage I think is, that popular clamours and fury, have been allowed the reputation of Zeale, and the publique ſenſe; ſo that the ſtudy to pleaſe ſome Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedome, moderation, and impartiallity are ſure the beſt tempers of reforming Councels, and endeavours: what is acted by Factions, cannot but offend more, than it pleaſeth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affaires and Religion to the free consultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly chosen; the results of whose Counsels as they would have included the Votes of all, so its like they would have given most satisfaction to all.

The Assembly of Divines, whom the two Houses have applyed (in an unwonted way) to advise of Church Affaires, I dislike not further, then that they are not legally convened and chosen; nor act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*; nor with freedome and impartiallity can doe any thing, being limited and confined, if not overawed, to doe and declare what they doe.

For I cannot thinke so many men cryed up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgy and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the maine, would have so suddenly agreed quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which, they knew to be of Apostolicall institution, at least; as of Primitive and Universall practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own suffrages, and if the influence of contrary Factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes, and feares, prevailed upon them, to comply with so great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without any regard to their own former judg-

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ment and practice, or to the common interest and honour of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, learning, and Religion against examples of all Ancient Churches; the Lawes in force, and My consent; which is never to be gained against so pregnant light, as in that point shines on My understanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not so cleare and punctuall in precepts, there the constant and Universall practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or any positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or restore to Presbitery, what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authority of that Ancient Order, I think neither just, as to Episcopacy, nor safe for Presbitery; nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had easily followed moderate Counsels: and such (I believe) as would have given more content, even to the most of those Divines, who have been led on with much Gravity and formallity, to carry on other mens designes which no doubt many of them by this time discover, though they dare

not

not but ſmother their fruſtrations, and diſcontents.

The ſpecious and popular Titles of Chriſts Government, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdome, (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their parties now have at leaſt) alſo the noiſe of a through Reformation, theſe may as eaſily be fined on new models, as faire colours may bee put to ill-favoured Figures.

The breaking of Church windowes, which time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling downe of croſſes, which were but civill, not Religious markes; defacing of Monuments, and Inſcriptions of the dead, which ſerved but to put poſterity in mind, to thank God, for that clearer light wherein they live; The leaving of Miniſters to their liberties, and private abilities in the publick ſervice of God, where no Chriſtian can tell to what hee may ſay *Amen*; nor what adventure he may make, of ſeeming, at leaſt, to conſent to the Errours, Blaſphemies, and ridiculous undecencies which bold and ignorant men liſt to vent in their prayers, preaching, and other Offices. Their ſetting forth alſo of old Catechiſmes, & Confeſſions of Faith new dreſt, importing as much as if there had been no ſound or clear Doctrine of faith in this Church, before ſome foure or five yeares conſultation had matured

their

their thoughts, touching their first principles of Religion.

All these and the like are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitfull Reformations, (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give some short flashes of content to the vulger, (who are taken with novelties, as children with babies, very much, but not very long) but all this amounts not to, nor can in Justice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation; since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly, and discontented, then when they began, in point of Pietie, Moralitie, Charitie, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompence or remedy the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and ever will necessarily ensue, till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last, make it their Unanimous work, to doe Gods work, and not their own: Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so many Lawes, and long Customes, would not run into their new moulds, till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civill Warre; by the advantages

ventages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make My self & all My Subjects fall down, and worship the Images they should form and set up: If there had beene as much of Christs Spirit, for meeknesse, wisdome, and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his name used in the pretensions, to Reform all to Christs Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods blessing, and p oduced more of Christs Glory, the Churches good, the Honour of Religion, and the Unity of Christians.

Publick Reformers had need first Act in private, and practise that on their own hearts, which they purpose to trie on others; for Deformities within, will soon betray the Pretenders of publick Reformations, to such private designes as must needes hinder the publick good.

I am sure the Right Methods of Reforming the Church cannot subsist with that of pertubing the Civill State, nor can Religion bee justly advanced by dep essing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion, for next to *fear God*, is, *Honour the King*.

I doubt not but Christs Kingdome may be set up without pulling down Mine; nor will any men in impartiall times appear good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christs

Christs Government will confirme Mine, not overthrow it, since as I owne Mine from Him, so I desire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christ's Government, or knew what it meant, in their hearts, they could never have been so ill governed in their words, and actions, both against Me, and one another,

As good ends cannot justifie evill meanes, so nor will evill beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions; unlesse God by a miracle of Mercy, create Light out of Darkenesse, order out of our confusions, and peace out of our passions.

Thou, O Lord, who only canst give us beauty for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie; suffer us not to be miserably deluded with Pharisaicall washings, instead of Christian reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within, make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our own soules.

That we may in clearnesse of judgment, and uprightnesse of heart be meanes to reforme what is indeed amisse in Church and State.

Create in us cleane hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us; that we may doe all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy blessing.

Pity the deformities, which some rash & cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State; Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.

As thou hast shewed the world by their divisions, and confusions, what is the pravity of some mens intentions, and weakenesse of their judgements; so bring us at last more refined out of these fires, by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformations; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetousnesse, or sacriledge, may have any influence upon their counsels, whom thy providence in just and lawfull wayes shall entrust with so great, good, and now most necessary work. That I and my People may be so blest with inward piety, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward peace.

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11. *Upon his Majesties Letters taken and divulged.*

THE taking of My Letters was an opportunitie, which, as the malice of Mine ENEMIES could hardly have expected; so they know not how with honour and civility to use it: Nor doe I think with sober and worthy minds any thing in them, could tend so much to My reproach, as the odious

odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greateſt experiments of vertue and Nobleneſſe beiny diſcovered in the greateſt advantages againſt an enemy, and the greateſt obligations being thoſe, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could leaſt have expected them.

And ſuch I ſhould have eſteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedome and ſecreſie of which, commands a civilitie from all men, not wholy barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane than to expoſe them to publique view.

Yet ſince providence will have it ſo, I am content ſo much of My heart (which I ſtudy to approve to Gods omniſcience) ſhould be diſcovered to the world, without any of thoſe dreſſes, or popular captations, which ſome men uſe in their Speeches, and Expreſſes; I wiſh My Subjects had yet a clearer ſight into My moſt retired thoughts:

Where they might diſcover, how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preſerve My owne Rights, than to procure their peace and happineſſe, and that extreame grief to ſee them both deceived, and deſtroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by My Letters, than to ſee My conſtancy to My Wife, the Lawes, and Religion.

Bees

Bees wil gather Honey where the Spider sucks Poison.

That I endeavour to avoid the pressures of my Enemies, by all fair and just correspondencies; no man can blame, who loves Me, or the Common-wealth, since my Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miserable, or enjoy their peace and liberties while I am oppressed.

The world may see how soon mens designe, like *Absoloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exasperate all sides to such distances, as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet I thanke God I can not only with patience beare this, as other indignities, but with Charity forgive them.

The integrity of My intentions is not jealous of any injury, My expressions can doe them, for although the confidence of privacy may admit of greater freedome in writing such Letters, which may be lyable to envious exceptions; yet the Innocency of My chief purposes cannot be so obtained, or mis-interpreted by them, as not to let all men see, that I wish nothing more then a happy composure of differences with Justice and Honour, not more to My owne, then My peoples content, who have any sparkes of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by those My Letters may be convinced, that

that I can both mind and act My owne, and My Kingdomes Affaires, so as becomes a Prince; which Mine Enemies have alwayes been very loath should be beleeved of me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others; whom they please to brand with the names of Evill Counsellours.

Its probable some men will now look upon me as my own Counsellour, and having none else to quarrell with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to my selfe: Although I know they are very unwilling I should enjoy the liberty of my own Thoughts, or follow the light of my own Conscience, which they labour to bring into an absolute captivity to themselves; not allowing me to think their Counsels to be other then good for me, which have so long maintained a War against Me.

The Victory they obtained that day, when my Letters became they prize, had been enough to have satiated the most ambitious thirst of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom prosperity gaines the greatest esteem and applause; as adversity exposeth to their greatest slighting and dis-respect: As if good fortune were alwaies the shadow of Vertue and Justice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But

But I see no secular advantages seem sufficient to that cause, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the vulgar.

They think no Victories so effectuall to their designs as those, that most rout and waste my Credit with my People; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect and Loyalty to Me, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover Mine, the Laws, and the Kingdomes Liberties, which some men seek to overthrow: The taking away of my Credit is but a necessary preparation to the taking away of my Life, and my Kingdomes; First, I must seem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reign; By exquisite methods of cunning and cruelty, I must be compelled, first to follow the Funeralls of my Honour, and then be destroyed: But I know Gods un-erring and impartiall Justice can, and will overrule the most perverse wills and designs of men; He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worst of mine Enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor do I think, that by the surprize of my Letters, I have lost any more then so many papers: How much they have lost of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be paid to all men, and most be-

becomes such as pretend to Religion) beside that of respect and Honour, which they owe to their KING, present, and after-times will judge. And I cannot think that their own consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them some secret impressions of that shame and dishonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of publick flattery, and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the divine approbation of such indecent actions, if they do but remember how God blest the modest respect and filiall tenderness, which *Noah's* Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity justifie *Chams* impudency, or exempt him from that curse of being *Servant of Servants*; which curse must needs be on them who seek by dishonourable actions to please the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts, their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malicious intentions be ever either excusable, or prosperous; who thought by this means to expose Me, to the highest reproach and contempt of My People; forgetting that duty of modest concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Country, in case they had discovered any reall uncomelinesse; which, I thank God they did not; who can, and I believe hath made Me more respected in the hearts of many (as I e did *David*)

to whom they thought, by publishing My private Letters, to have rendred Me as a Vile Person, not fit to be trusted or considered, under any Notion of Majesty.

But thou, O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing providence, ordereth the greatest contingences of humain affairs; make me to see the constancy of thy mercies to me, in the greatest advantages thou seemest to give the malice of my Enemies against me.

As thou didst blast the counsel of Achitophel, *turning it to* Davids *good, & his own ruine: so canst thou defeat their design, who intended by publishing my private Letters, nothing else, but to render me more odious and contemptible to My People.*

I must first appeal to thy Omniscience, who canst witnesse with my integrity, how unjust and false those scandalous misconstructions are, which my enemies endeavour by those Papers of mine to represent to the world.

Make the evill they imagined, and displeasure they intended thereby against me, so to return on their own heads, that they may be ashamed, and covered with their own confusion, as with a Cloak.

Thou seest how mine enemies use all means to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anointed.

But give me an heart content to be dishonoured for thy ſake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpoſe to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by reſtoring to me the enjoyment of that Power and Majeſty, which thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to ſeek to deprive me of; or by beſtowing on me that Crown of Chriſtian patience, which knows how to ſerve thee in honour, or diſhonour, in good report or evill.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodneſſe, and honour; thou art clothed with excellent Majeſty; make me to partake of thy Excellency for wiſdome, juſtice, and mercy, and I ſhall not want that degree of Honour, and Majeſty, which becomes the Place in which thou haſt ſet Me; who art the lifter up of My head, and My ſalvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead Me to thy Glory, which is both true and eternall.

22. *Upon*

22. *Upon His Majesties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough God hath given Mee three Kingdomes, yet in these He hath not now left Me any place, where I may with Safety and Honour rest my Head: Shewing me that himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence, in which I may put my Trust.

In these extremities, I look not to man so much as to God, He will have it thus; that I may wholly cast my self, and my now distressed affairs upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessity is now my Counsellour, and commands me to study my safety by a disguised withdrawing from my chiefest strength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty, who first began my Troubles. Happily God may make them a means honourably to compose them.

This my confidence of Them, may dis-arm and overcome them; my rendring my Person to Them, may engage their affections to me, who have oft professed, *They fought not against Me, but for Me.*

I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyalty: and give them opportunity to let the world see, they mean not what they do, but what they say.

Yet must God be My chiefest Guard; and My Conscience both My Counsellour and My Comforter: Though I put My Body into their hands, yet I shall reserve My Soul to God, and My self; nor shall any necessities compell Me, to desert Mine Honour, or swerve from My Judgement.

What they sought to take by force, shall now be given them in such a way of unusuall confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be really such, as they ought, and professed to be.

God sees it not enough to desert Me of all Military power to defend My self; but to put Me upon using their power, who seem to fight against Me, yet ought in duty to defend Me.

So various are all humain affairs, and so necessitous may the state of Princes be, that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safety, and their safety in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those, that have Adhered to Me, and apply to those that have Opposed Me; this method of Peace may be more prosperous, than that of War, both to stop the effusion of bloud, and to close those wounds

already made: and in it I am no leſſe ſolicitous for My Friends ſafety, than Mine own; chuſing to venture My ſelf upon further hazards, rather than expoſe their reſolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is ſome skill in play to know when a game is loſt; better fairly to go over, than to conteſt in vain.

I muſt now ſtudy to re-inforce My judgement, and fortifie My mind with Reaſon and Religion; that I may not ſeem to offer up my Souls liberty, or make my Conſcience their Captive; who ought at firſt to have uſed Arguments, not Arms, to have perſwaded my conſent to their new demands.

I thank God no ſucceſſe, darkens or diſguiſes Truth to me; and I ſhall no leſſe conform my words to my inward dictates now, than if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among loyall Subjects, *full of power.*

Reaſon is the divineſt power. I ſhall never think my ſelf weakned while I may make full and free uſe of that. No eclypſe of outward fortune ſhall rob me of that light; what God hath denied of outward ſtrength, his grace, I hope, will ſupply with inward reſolutions, not moroſity to deny, what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing, which Reaſon and Religion bids me deny.

I ſhall never think my ſelf leſſe than my ſelf

while I am able thus to preserve the Integrity of my Conscience, the onely Jewell now left me, which is worth keeping.

O thou Soveraigne of our Souls, the onely Commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to do yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I still commend my self.

As thou hast preserved me in the day of Battell, so thou canst still shew me thy strength in my weaknesse.

Be thou unto me in my darkest night, a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hottest affliction, be also a pillar of cloud to overshadow and protect me; be to me, both a Su- and a Shield.

Thou knowest, that it is no' any perversneſſe of will, but just perswasions of Honour, Reason, and Religion, which have made me thus far to hazard my Person, Peace, and Safety, against those, that by force have sought to wrest them from me.

Suffer not my just resolutions to abate with my outward Forces; let a good Conscience alwayes accompany Me in My solitude and desertions.

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reason, and that fortresse of My Soul, which I am intrusted to keep for thee.

Lead

Lead Me in the paths of thy righteousnesse, and shew me thy salvation.

Make my waies to please thee, and then thou wilt make Mine Enemies to be at peace with Me.

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23. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the* KING *to the* English; *and His Captivity at* Holmeby.

YEt may I justifie those *Scots* to all the world in this, that they have not deceived me; for I never trusted to them further, than to men: if I am sold by them, I am onely sorry they should do it; and that my price should be so much above my Saviours.

These are but further Essayes, which God will have me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix me on himself; who never faileth them that trust in him; Though the Reeds of *Ægypt* break under the hand of him that leans on them: yet the Rock of *Israel* will be an everlasting stay and defence.

Gods providence commands me to retire from all to himself, that in him I may enjoy my self, which I lose, while I let out my hopes to others.

The solitude and captivity, to which I am

now reduced, gives me leisure enough to study the worlds vanity, and inconstancy,

God sees 'tis fit to deprive me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedome, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the unfortunate, if I be not in the black List of irreligious, and sacrilegious Princes.

No Restraint shall ensnare my Soul in sin, nor gain that of me, which may make my Enemies more insolent, my Friends ashamed, or my Name accursed.

They have no great cause to triumph, that they have got my Person into their power: since my Soul is still my own; nor shall they ever gain my Consent against my Conscience.

What they call obstinacy, I know God accounts honest constancy, from which Reason and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil Counsellours with me, but a good Conscience in me, which hath been fought against; nor did they ever intend to bring me to my Parliament, till they had brought my mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what some men desire, I should be such as they wish me, not more a King, and farre lesse both man and Christian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain

tain, neither ſhall Reſtraint; which though it have as little of ſafety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men ſhall never be my ſnare: nor ſhall the love of any liberty entangle my ſoul: Better others betray me, than my ſelf: and that the price of my liberty ſhould be my Conſcience; the greateſt injuries my Enemies ſeek to inflict upon me, cannot be without my own conſent.

While I can deny with reaſon, I ſhall defeat the greateſt impreſſions of their malice, who neither know how to uſe worthily, what I have already granted, nor what to require more of me but this, That I would ſeem willing to help them to deſtroy my ſelf and mine. Although they ſhould deſtroy me, yet they ſhall have no cauſe to deſpiſe me.

Neither liberty nor life are ſo dear to me, as the peace of my Conſcience, the Honour of my Crowns, and the welfare of my People: which my Word may injure more than any warre can do; while I gratifie a few to oppreſſe all.

The Lawes will, by Gods bleſſing, revive with the love and Loyalty of my Subjects; I bury them not by my Conſent, and cover them in that grave of diſhonour, and injuſtice which ſome mens violence hath digged for them.

If my Captivity or death muſt be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miſerable, which carrieth not with it, his Souls, his Peoples, and Poſterities thraldome.

After-times may ſee, what the blindneſſe of this Age will not; and God may at length ſhew my Subjects, that I chuſe rather to ſuffer for them, then with them; happily I might redeem my ſelf to ſome ſhew of liberty, if I would conſent to enſlave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then to confirm many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becomes of Me, whoſe ſolitude hath not left Me alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely good, and great, art with Me, whoſe preſence is better then life; and whoſe ſervice is perfect freedome.

Own Me for thy Servant, and I ſhall never have cauſe to complain for want of that liberty, which becometh a Man, a Chriſtian, and a King.

Bleſſe Me ſtill with reaſon, as a Man; with Religion, as a Chriſtian; and with Conſtancy in Juſtice as a King.

Though thou ſuffereſt Me to be ſtript of all outward ornaments, yet preſerve Me ever in thoſe enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy ſelf; and which cannot be taken from Me againſt my will.

Let

Let no fire of affliction boyl over my passion to any impatience, or sordid fears.

There be many say of me, There is no help for me: do thou lift up the light of thy Countenance, upon me, and I shall neither want safetie, libertie, nor Majestie.

Give me that measure of patience and Constancy, which my condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, My expectation from men defeated, My Person restrained: O be not thou far from me, lest my Enemies prevail too much against Me.

I am become a wonder, and a scorn to many: O be Thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew some token upon me for good, that they that hate me may be ashamed, because thou Lord hast holpen and comforted me: establish me with thy free Spirit, that I may do, and suffer thy will, as thou wouldst have me.

Be mercifull to me, O Lord, for my Soul trusteth in thee: yea and in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge untill these calamities be overpast.

Arise to deliver me, make no longer tarrying, O my God. Though thou killest me, yet will I trust in thy mercy, and my Saviours merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadest me through the vail and shadow of death, yet shall I fear none ill.

24. *Upon*

24. *Upon their denying His Majestie the Attendance of His Chaplains.*

WHen Providence was pleaſed to deprive me of all other civil comforts and ſecular attendants, I thought the abſence of them all might beſt be ſupplied by the attendance of ſome of my Chaplains, whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cauſe to love. By their learning, piety and prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to ſuſtain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and uſe of them in Gods good time: ſo reaping by their pious help a ſpirituall harveſt of grace amidſt the thorns, and after the plowings of temporall croſſes.

The truth is, I never needed or deſired more the ſervice and aſſiſtance of men judiciouſly pious, and ſoberly devout.

The ſolitude they have confined me unto, addes the wilderneſſe to my temptations: For the company they obtrude upon me, is more ſad than any ſolitude can be.

If I had asked my Revenues, my Power of the *Militia*, or any one of my Kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denied in

those

those things, where the evil policy of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confesse an injurious usurpation : But to deny me the Ghostly comfort of my Chaplains seems a greater rigour and barbarity, then is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners, and greatest malefactours ; whom though the Justice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy, as not aiming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damne their Souls.

But my Agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good Angel ; for such *I* account a Learned, Godly, and discreet Divine : and such *I* would have all mine to be.

They that envy my being a King, are loth *I* should be a Christian, while they seek to deprive me of all things else, They are afraid *I* should save my Soul.

Other sense, Charity it self can hardly pick out of those many harsh repulses *I* received, as to that Request so often made for the attendance of some of my Chaplains.

I have sometime thought the unchristianesse of those denials might arise from a displeasure some men had to see me prefer my own Divines before their Ministers : whom, though *I* respect for that worth and piety

which

which may be in them; yet I cannot think them so proper for any present comforters or *Physitians*; Who have (some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon Me.

Nor are the sobereſt of them so apt for that devotionall compliance, and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy Offices, to be performed with Me, and for Me; since their judgements standing at a distance from me, or in jealousie of me, or in opposition against me, their spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with mine, or mine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other holy duties, as is meet, and most comfortable; whose golden Rule, and bond of perfection consists in that of mutuall Love and Charity.

Some remedies are worse then the disease, and some comforters more miserable then misery it self; when like *Jobs* friends, they seek not to fortifie ones mind with patience; but perswade a man by betraying his own Innocency, to dispair of Gods mercy; and by justifying their injuries, to strengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of insolent Enemies.

I am so much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beseeming that sacred function, that I have hazarded my

own Interests, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancy to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the sacrilegious eyes of many cruell and rapicious Reformers; so I thought it my duty the more to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandsomly requited by some of them; who may live to repent no lesse for My sufferings, than their own ungratefull errours, and that injurious contempt and meanness, which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pity all of them, I despise none: onely I thought I might have leave to make choice of some for My speciall Attendants, who were best approved in My Judgement, and most sutable to My affection. For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no mens prayers, than to be forced, or seem to comply with those petitions, to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own understanding, or belying his own soul.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldness, nor pious non-sense; but such an humble and judicious gravity as shews the Speaker to be at once considerate both of Gods Majesty, the Churches honour, and his own Vileness; both knowing what things God allows

him

him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to ſupplicate the divine Mercy for himſelf, and others.

I am equally ſcandalized with all prayers, that ſound either imperiouſly, or rudely, and paſſionately; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or reſpect to the duty.

I confeſſe I am better pleaſed, as with ſtudied and premeditated Sermons, ſo with ſuch publick Forms of Prayer, as are fitted to the Churches and every Chriſtians daily and common neceſſities; becauſe I am by them better aſſured, what I may joyn My heart unto, than I can be of any mans extemporary ſufficiency; which as I do not wholly exclude from publick occaſions, ſo I allow its juſt liberty and uſe in private and devout retirements; where neither the ſolemnity of the duty, nor the modeſt regard to others, do require ſo great exactneſſe as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of underſtanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the main and moſt neceſſary requiſites both in conſtant, and occaſionall, ſolitary, and ſociall Devotions.

So that I muſt needs ſeem to all equall minds with as much Reaſon to prefer the ſervice of My own Chaplains before that of their Miniſters, as I do the Liturgy before their Directory.

In the one, I have been alwaies educated and exercised; In the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted: And if I were, yet should I not by that, as by any certain rule and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare composure and use; which is already as much despised and disused by many of them, as the Common-prayer sometimes was by those men; a great part of whose piety hung upon that popular pin of railing against, and contemning the Government, and Liturgy of this Church. But, I had rather be condemned to the wo of *Væ solis*, than to that of *Væ vobis Hypocritis*, by seeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by My Denyers sufficient of My self to discharge My duty to God as a Priest, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regall and Sacerdotall, might well become the same Person; as anciently they were under one name, & the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better presidents, if I were able, than those two eminent Kings, *David*, and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, than one was for devout Psalms and Prayers; the other for his divine Parables

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and Preaching: whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, than any of those the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisedome and providence hath, for the most part, alwayes distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings, of Priests, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewish and Christian Churches: I am sorry to find My self reduced to the necessity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive Me of Kingly Power and Soveraignty; would no lesse enforce Me to live many Months without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unlesse I become My own Chaplain.

As I ow the Clergy the protection of a Christian King, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent than My own, or other mens; by how much they flow from minds more enlightned, and affections lesse distracted, than those, which are incombred with secular affairs: besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptableness

tends those duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have specially designed and consecrated some men: And however, as to that Spirituall Government, by which the devout Soul is subject to Christ, and through his merits daily offers it self and its services to GOD, every private believer is a King and Priest, invested with the honour of a Royall Priesthood; yet as to Ecclesiasticall order, and the outward polity of the Church, I think confusion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Priest or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwayes bred to more modest, and I think more pious Principles: the consciousnesse to My spirituall defects makes Me more prize and desire those pious assistances, which holy and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, may afford Me; especially in these extremities, to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of My Subjects to reduce Me; so as to leave them nothing more, but My life to take from Me: and to leave Me nothing to desire, which I thought might lesse provoke their jealousie and offence to deny Me, than this of having some means afforded Me for My souls comfort and support.

To which end I made choice of men, as no

way (that I know) ſcandalous, ſo every way eminent for their learning and piety, no leſſe than for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made againſt them, but onely this, that they may ſeem too able and too well affected toward Me and My ſervice.

But this is not the firſt ſervice (as I count it the beſt) in which they have forced Me to ſerve My ſelf; though I muſt confeſſe I bear with more grief and impatience the want of My Chaplains, than of any other My Servants; and next (if not beyond in ſome things) to the being ſequeſtred from my Wife and Children, ſince from theſe indeed more of humane and temporary affections, but from thoſe more of heavenly and eternall improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary ſupplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach me and help my Infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation (as I hope he will) I ſhall need no other, either Oratour or Inſtructer.

To thee therefore, O My God, do I direct My now ſolitary praiers; what I want of others help, ſupply with the more immediate aſſiſtances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten My darkneſſe, and quicken My

O thou Sun of righteousnesse, thou sacred Fountain of heavenly light and heat, at once clear and warm my heart, both by instructing of me, and interceding for me: In thee is all fulnesse; From the all-sufficiency: By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be also my Prophet and my Priest. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me; and be thou ever with me.

The single wrestlings of Jacob *prevailed with thee, in that sacred Duell, when he had none to second him but thy self; who didst assist him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wrest a blessing from thee.*

O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercie, whom thou didst once blesse with the joynt and sociated Devotions of others, whose fervencie might inflame the coldnesse of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy House with the voice of joy and gladnesse, worshipping thee in the unitie of spirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of those happie opportunities.

It is now thy pleasure that I should be as a Pelican in the wildernesse, as a Sparrow on the house top, & as a cole scattered from all those warm glowings, and devout reflections, which

might best kindle, preserve, and encrease the holy fire of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, whence the sacrifice of prayers, and incense of praises, might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakest not the bruized Reed, nor quenchest the smoking Flax, do not despise the weakness of my prayers, nor the smotherings of my soul in this uncomfortable loneness; to which I am constrained by some mens uncharitable denialls of those helps, which I much want, and no lesse desire.

O let the hardness of their hearts occasion the softnings of mine to thee, and for Them. Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreasonable denials of my Religious desires the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafness encline thine ear to me; who art a God easie to be entreated; thine eare is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not hear; nor thy hand shortned, that it cannot help Me thy desolate Suppliant.

Thou permittest men to deprive me of those outward means, which thou hast appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debar me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breatheſt into humble hearts.

O make me such & thou wilt teach me, thou wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The broken & contrite heart I know thou wilt not despise.

Thou, O Lord canst at once make me

Temple, thy Priest, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned tears my self to thee; who preparest me for thee, dwellest in me, and acceptest of me.

Thou O Lord, didst cause by secret supplies and miraculous infusions, that the handful of meal in the vessell should not spend, nor the little oyl in the cruise fail the Widow during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my soul, which as a Widow, is now desolate and forsaken: let not those saving Truths I have formerly learned now fail my memory; nor the sweet effusions of thy Spirit, which I have sometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholesome food for the refreshing of my Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuse than to feed from those hands who mingle my bread with ashes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting, than teaching me; whose mouths are proner to bitter reproaches of me, than to hearty praiers for me.

Thou knowest, O Lord of truth how oft they wrest thy holy Scriptures to my destruction, (which are clear for their subiection, and my preservation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knowest how some men (under colour of

long praiers) have ſought to devoure the houſes of their Brethren, their King, & their God.

O let not thoſe mens balms break my head, nor their Cordials oppreſſe my heart, I will evermore pray againſt their wickedneſſe.

From the poiſon under their tongues, from the ſnares of their lips, from the fire, and the ſwords of their words ever deliver Me, O Lord, and all thoſe Loyall and Religious hearts, who deſire and delight in the proſperity of my ſoul, and who ſeek by their praiers to relieve this ſadneſſe, and ſolitude of thy ſervant, O my King and my God.

25. Penitentiall Meditations and Vows in the KINGS ſolitude at *Holmeby*.

GIve ear to my words, ô Lord, conſider my Meditation, and hearken to the voice of my crie, my King, and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I ſaid in my haſte I am caſt out of the ſight of thine eies; nevertheleſſe thou heareſt the voice of my ſupplication, when I crie unto thee.

If thou Lord ſhouldſt be extream to mark what is done amiſſe, who can abide it? but there is mercie with thee, that thou maiſt be feared; therefore ſhall ſinners flie unto thee.

I acknowledg my ſins before thee, which have

the aggravation of my condition; the eminencie of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beseech thee, my Personall, and my Peoples sins; which are so far mine, as I have not improved the power thou gavest me, to thy glory, and my Subjects good: Thou hast now brought me from the glory and freedome of a King, to be a Prisoner to my own Subjects: Justly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, because in many things I have rebelled against thee.

Though thou hast restrained my Person, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards Me.

I come far short of Davids *piety; yet since I may equall* Davids *afflictions, give me also the comforts and the sure mercies of* David.

Let the penitent sense I have of my sins, be an evidence to me, that thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and my Kingdoms have suffered, seem little unto thee; though thou hast not punished us according to our sins

Turn thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercy upon me, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrows of my heart are enlarged; O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and shut up thy loving kindnesse in displeasure?

O remember thy compassions of old, and thy loving kindnesses, which have been for many

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to see thy goodneſſe in the land of the living.

Let not the ſins of our proſperity deprive us of the beneſit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery trial conſume the droſſe, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continueſt miſeries, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of proſperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of juſtice muſt be ſtretched out ſtill; Let it I beſeech thee be againſt me and my Fathers houſe; as for theſe ſheep, what have they done?

Let my ſufferings ſatiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the meaſure of my charity.

Baniſh from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not loſe the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou giveſt me a heart to forgive them, ſo I beſeech thee do thou forgive what they have done againſt thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou haſt given me an heart to pray unto thee; ſo hear and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember Me and my Kingdomes; In continuing the light of thy Goſpell, and ſetling thy true Religion among

us.

In restoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Justice.

In suppressing the many Schismes in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt restore me and mine to the Ancient rights and glory of my Predecessours.

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my people to thy self in Piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charity.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewell of these Civill Wars.

If thou wilt blesse us with the freedome of publick Counsels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the insolency of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of enacting any thing against my Conscience; and especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapines, and spoilings of thy Church.

If thou wilt restore me to a capacity to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then shall my soul praise thee, and magnifie thy name before my People.

Then shall thy glory be dearer to me then my Crowns; and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power be my chiefest care.

Then will I rule my People with Justice, and my Kingdomes with equity.

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever com-

as the rightfull succession so the mercifull restauration of My Kingdomes, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring Me again with peace, safety, and honour, to My chiefest City, and My Parliament.

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Justice into My hand to punish and protect.

Then will I make all the world to see, and my very Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and resolution of Christian charity, which I now make unto thee, O Lord.

As I do freely pardon for Christs sake those that have offended me in any kind; so my hand shall never be against any man to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injury done to me.

We have been mutually punished in our unnaturall divisions; for thy sake, O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, That I will use all means in the waies of amnesty and indempnity, which may most fully remove all fears, and bury all jealousies in forgetfulnesse.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my resolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

Hear my praier, O Lord, which goeth not out of fained lips.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my

praier.

praier; nor taken his mercie from me.

O my ſoul, commit thy way to the Lord, truſt in him, and he ſhall bring it to paſſe.

But if thou wilt not reſtore me and mine, what am I that I ſhould charge thee fooliſhly?

Thou, O Lord, haſt given, and thou haſt taken, Bleſſed be thy name.

May my People and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.

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26. *Upon the Armies Surpriſall of the* KING *at* Holmeby, *and the enſuing diſtractions in the two Houſes, the Army, and the City.*

WHat part God will have me now to act or ſuffer in this new and ſtrange Scene of affairs, I am not much ſolicitous; ſome little practiſe will ſerve that man who onely ſeeks to repreſent a part of honeſty and honour.

This ſurprize of Me tells the world, that a KING cannot be ſo low, but He is conſiderable; adding weight to that Party where he appears.

This motion, like others of the Times seems excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, than in vain to strive against it.

These are but the struglings of those twins, which lately one womb enclosed, the younger striving to prevail against the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen*, and sounds too like the fury of those Zealots, whose intestine bitterness and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatall destruction of that City.

Well may I change my *Keepers* and Prison, but not my captive condition, onely with this hope of bettering, that those who are so much professed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly against the Liberty of their KING; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in Reason deny to mine.

In this they seem more ingenuous, than the

Presbyterian rigour, who sometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to laws, are become the greatest Exactours of other mens submission to their novell injunctions, before they are stamped with the Authority of Laws, which they cannot well have without My consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselves manumitted from their Rivals service, in that they carry on a businesse of such consequence, as the assuming My Person into the Armies custody, without any Commission, but that of their own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a King, must not be thought over-modest, or timerous to carry on any design they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces, and scares both the two Houses and the City; which soon after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions, (never questioned, punished, or repented) must now suffer for both; and see their former sinne in the glasse of the present terrours and distractions.

No man is so blind as not to see herein the hand of divine Justice; they that by Tumults first occasioned the raising of Armies, must now be chastened by their own Army for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one sin,

but adde ſinne to ſin, till the latter puniſh the former; ſuch as were content to ſee me and many Members of both Houſes driven away by the firſt unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forced to fly to an Army, or defend themſelves againſt them.

But who can unfold the riddle of ſome mens juſtice? the Members of both Houſes who at firſt withdrew, (as my ſelf was forced to do) from the rudeneſſe of the Tumults, were counted Deſertours, and outed of their Places in Parliament,

Such as ſtayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were aſſerted for the onely Parliament-men: now the Fliers from, and Forſakers of their places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complain highly againſt the Tumults, and vindicate themſelves by an Army: ſuch as remained and kept their ſtations, are loked upon as Abettours of Tumultuary inſolencies, and Betrayers of the Freedome and Honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to preſent Advantages than their Conſciences, and the unchangeable rules of Juſtice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themſelves.

Now the plea againſt Tumults holds good,

the

the Authours and Abbettours of them are guilty of prodigious insolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and necessary Assistants.

I see Vengeance pursues and overtakes (as the mice and rats are said to have done a Bishop in Germany) them that thought to have escaped and fortified themselves most impregnably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish, by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine Justice, yet with sorrow and pity; for, I alwaies wished so well to Parliament and City, that I was sorry to see them do, or suffer any thing unworthy such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdome.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking; I never had so ill a thought of those Cities as to despair of their Loyalty to me; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storm be yet wholly passed over them; upon whom *I* look, as Christ did sometime over *Jerusalem*, as objects of my praiers and tears, with compassionate grief foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered

gathered to their duty: fatall blindneſſe frequently attending and puniſhing wilfulneſſe, ſo that men ſhall not be able at laſt to prevent their ſorrows who would not timely repent of their ſins; nor ſhall they be ſuffered to enjoy the comforts, who ſecurely neglect the counſels belonging to their peace. They will find that Brethren in iniquity are not farre from becoming inſolent enemies, there being nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it poſſible to gain a fair period for thoſe notions which go rather in a round and circle of fanſie, than in a right line of reaſon tending to the Law, the onely center of publick conſiſtency; whither I pray God at laſt bring all ſides.

Which will eaſily be done, when we ſhall fully ſee how much more happy we are, to be ſubject to the known Laws, than to the various wills of any men, ſeem they never ſo plauſible at firſt.

Vulgar compliance with any illegall and extravagant wayes, like violent motions in a nature, ſoon grows weary of it ſelf, and ends in a refractory ſullenneſſe: Peoples reboundes are oft in their faces, who firſt put them upon thoſe violent ſtrokes.

For the Army (which is ſo far excuſable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, and intereſts,

interests demanding Pay and Indempnity) I think it neeessary, in order to the publick peace that they should be satisfied, as far as is just; no man being more prone to consider them than my self; though they have fought against me, yet *I* cannot but so farre esteem that vallour and gallantry they have sometime shewed, as to wish *I* may never want such men to maintain my self, my Lawes, and my Kingdomes, in such a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unitie in a sacred Trinitie, in mercie behold those, whom thy Justice hath divided.

Deliver me from the strivings of my People, and make me to see how much they need my praiers and pitie, who agreed to fight against me, and yet are now readie to fight against one another; to the continuance of my Kingdomes distractions.

Discover to all sides the waies of peace, from which they have swerved: which consists not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the point and due observation of the Lawes.

Make me willing to go whither thou wilt lead me by thy providence; and be thou ever with me, that I may see thy constancie in the worlds varietie and changes.

Make

Make me even such as thou wouldst have Me, that I may at last enjoy that safetie and tranquilitie which thou alone canst give Me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavie wrath justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plentie is prone to adde fewell to their luxurie, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to securitie, and their securitie exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eies to see, hearts to consider, wils to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy glorie and the publike peace, lest their calamitie come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, That they cannot want enemies who abound in sinne, nor shall they be long undisarmed and un-destroied, who with a high hand persisting to fight against thee and the clear convictions of their own consciences, fight more against themselves, then ever they did against Me.

Their sinnes exposing them to thy Justice, their riches to other injuries, their number to Tumults, and their tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardnesse helped to destroy Me, yet let not my fall be their ruine.

Let Me not so much consider either what they have done, or I have suffered, (chiefly at first

first by them) as to forget to imitate my crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorãce for their pardon; and in my dying extremities to pray to thee O Father to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The tears they have denied me in my ſadeſt condition, give them grace to beſtow upon themſelves, who the leſſe they were for me, the more cauſe they have to weep for themſelves.

O let not my bloud be upon them and their Children, whom the fraud and faction of ſome, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie me.

But thou, O Lord, canſt, and wilt (as thou didſt my Redeemer*) both exalt and perfect me by my ſufferings, which have more in them of thy mercie, then of mans cruelties or thy own juſtice.*

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27. To

27. *To the Prince of* Wales.

SOnne, if theſe Papers, with ſome others, wherein I have ſet down the private reflections of My Conſcience, and My moſt impartiall thoughts, touching the chief paſſages, which have been moſt remarkable, or diſputed in My late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly deſigned; they may be ſo far uſefull to you, as to ſtate your judgement aright in what hath paſſed; whereof, a pious is the beſt uſe can be made; and they may alſo give you ſome directions, how to remedy the preſent diſtempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is ſome kind of deceiving and leſſening the injury of my long reſtraint, when I find My leiſure and ſolitude have produced ſomething worthy of My ſelf, and uſefull to you; That neither you, nor any other, may hereafter meaſure my Cauſe by the Succeſſe; nor my Judgement of things by my misfortunes; which I count the greater by farre, becauſe they have ſo farre lighted upon you, and ſome others, whom I have moſt cauſe to love as well as my ſelf; and of whoſe unmerited ſufferings I have a greater ſenſe then of mine own.

But this advantage of wiſedome you have above moſt Princes; that you have begun

and now ſpent ſome years of diſcretion, in the experience of troubles, and exerciſe of patience, wherein Piety, and all Virtues, both Morall and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving (as trees ſet in winter) then in the warmth, and ſerenity of times; or amidſt thoſe delights, which uſually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Virtue and Honour; or to be contented onely with ſome leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits, ſuch as tend to the Publick good; for which Princes ſhould alwayes remember they are born and by providence deſigned.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prepared, by many afflictions for a flouriſhing Kingdome, the other ſoftned by the unparaleld proſperity of *Solomons* Court; and ſo corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honour, and Kingdome, by thoſe flatteries, which are as unſeparable from proſperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in ſummer, whom adverſity, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather you ſhould be *Charlet le Bon*, then *le Grand*, good, then great; *I* hope God hath deſigned you to be both, having ſo early

put you into that exerciſe of his Graces, and gifts beſtowed upon you, which may beſt weed out all vicious inclinations, and diſpoſe you to thoſe Princely endowments, and employments, which will moſt gain the love, and intend the welfare of thoſe, over whom God ſhall place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Soveraign diſpoſer of the Kingdomes of the world, who pulleth down one, and ſetteth up another.

The beſt Government, and higheſt Soveraignty you can attain to is, to be ſubject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes conſiſts in advancing Gods Glory in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; Alſo in the diſpenſation of civill Power, with Juſtice and Honour to the publick Peace.

Piety will make you proſperous; at leaſt it will keep you from being miſerable; nor is he much a loſer, that loſeth all, yet ſaveth his own ſoul at laſt.

To which Centre of true Happineſſe God, I truſt, hath and will graciouſly direct all theſe black lines of Affliction, which he hath been pleaſed to draw on me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn me nearer to himſelf. You have already taſted of that cup whereof I

have liberally drank, which I look upon as Gods Physick, having that in healthfulnesse which it wants in pleasure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already; wel-grounded and settled in your Religion: The best profession of which, I have ever esteemed that of the Church of *England*, in which you have been educated: yet I would have your own Judgement and Reason now seal to that sacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciously your own Religion, and not other mens custome or tradition, which you professe.

In this I charge you to persevere, as coming neareſt to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the primitive examples for Government, with some little amendment, which I have otherwhere expressed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more necessary for your souls then your Kingdomes peace, when God shall bring you to them.

For I have observed, that the Devil of Rebellion, doth commonly turn himself into an Angel of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights; When some mens Consciences accuse them for Sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, the cry out Zeal.

So

So that, unleſſe in this point You be well ſettled, you ſhall never want temptations to deſtroy you & yours, under pretenſions of reforming matters of Religion; for that ſeems, even to worſt men, as the beſt and moſt auſpicious beginning of their worſt deſigns.

Where, beſides the Novelty which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by ſeeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought zealous; hoping to cover thoſe irreligious deformities, whereto they are conſcious by a ſeverity of cenſuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your Judgement, and the Church well ſettled; your partiall adhering, as head, to any one ſide, gains you not ſo great advantages in ſome mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings *Religion*) as it loſeth you in others; who think themſelves, and their profeſſion firſt deſpiſed, then perſecuted by you: Take ſuch a courſe as may either with calmneſſe and charity quite remove the ſeeming differences and offences by impartiality, or ſo order affairs in point of *Power* that you ſhall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For whatever you ſtand in need of them, or muſt ſtand to their courteſie, you are undone: The Se-

ent will devour the Dove; you may never xpect leſſe of loyalty, juſtice, or humanity, han from thoſe, who engage into religious Rebellion; Their intereſt is alwaies made Gods; under the colours of Piety, ambitious olicies march, not onely with greateſt ſecu-ity, but applauſe, as to the populacy; you ay hear from them *Jacobs* voice, but you hall feel they have *Eſaus* hands.

Nothing ſeemed leſſe conſiderable than the resbyterian Faction in *England*, for many ears; ſo compliant they were to publick or-er: nor indeed was their Party great either n Church, or State, as to mens judgements: ut as ſoon as diſcontents drave men into idings (as ill humours fall to the diſaffected art, which cauſes inflammations) ſo did all, at rſt, who affected any novelties, adhere to that ide, as the moſt remarkable and ſpecious ote of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the leſſer Factions at firſt were officious ervants to Presbytery their great Maſter: ll time and military ſucceſſe diſcovering to ach their peculiar advantages, invited them o part ſtakes, and leaving the joynt ſtock of niform Religion, pretended each to drive for eir Party the trade of profits and prefer-ents, to the breaking and undoing not onely the Church and State, but even of Pres-tery it ſelf, which ſeemed and hoped at firſt

Let nothing ſeem little or deſpicable to you in matters which concern Religion and the Churches peace, ſo as to neglect a ſpeedy reforming and effectuall ſuppreſſing Errours and Schiſmes, which ſeem at firſt but as a handbredth, by ſeditious Spirits, as by ſtrong winds are ſoon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done juſtice to God, your own ſoul and his Church, in the profeſſion and preſervation both of truth and unity in Religion: the next main hinge on which your proſperity will depend, and move, is, that of civil Juſtice, wherein the ſettled Laws of theſe Kingdomes, to which you are rightly Heir, are the moſt excellent rules you can govern by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects induſtry, liberty, and happineſſe; and yet reſerve enough to the Majeſty and prerogative of any King, who owns his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whoſe ſubjection, as it preſerves their property, peace and ſafety, ſo it will never diminiſh your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which conſiſts in the enjoyment of the fruits of their induſtry, and the benefit of thoſe Laws to which themſelves have conſented.

Never charge your Head with ſuch a Crown, as ſhall by its heavineſſe oppreſſe the whole body, the weakneſſe of whoſe parts can

not return any thing of ſtrength, honour, or ſafety, to the Head, but a neceſſary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is beſt ſhewed, and exerciſed in remitting, rather then exacting the rigour of the Laws; there being nothing worſe than legall Tyranny.

In theſe two points, the preſervation of eſtabliſhed Religion, and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproch of My ſufferings, as to the worlds cenſure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdome, as to the teſtimony of My own Conſcience; The Troublers of My Kingdomes having nothing elſe to object againſt Me but this, That I preferre Religion, and Laws eſtabliſhed before thoſe alterations they propounded.

And ſo indeed I do, and ever ſhall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, than what hitherto have been chiefly uſed towards Me, Tumults, Armies, and Priſons.

I cannot yet learn that leſſon, nor I hope ever will you, That it is ſafe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Lawes, in which is wrapt up the publique Intereſt, and the good of the Community.

How God will deal with Me, as to the removall of theſe preſſures, & indignities, which his juſtice by the very unjuſt hands of ſome of My Subjects, hath been pleaſed to lay upon

Me

Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much ſolicitous what wrong I ſuffer from men, while I retain in My ſoul, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience I can; reſerving onely what I cannot conſent unto, without an irreparable injury to My own Soul, the Church, and My People, and to You alſo, as the next and undoubted Heir of My Kingdomes.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are inſuperable, ſhall in his due time after My deceaſe bring You, as I hope he will; My counſell and charge to You, is, That You ſeriouſly conſider the former, reall, are objected miſcarriages, which might occaſion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repoſe ſo much upon any mans ſingle counſell, fidelity, and diſcretion, in managing affairs of the firſt magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Juſtice) as to create in Your ſelf, or others, a diffidence of Your own judgement, which is likely to be alwaies more conſtant and impartiall to the intereſts of Your Crown and Kingdome than any mans.

Next, beware of exaſperating any Factions by the croſneſſe, and aſperity of ſome mens paſſions, humours, or private opinions, imployed by You, grounded onely upon the dif-

ferences in leſſer matters, which are but the skirts and ſuburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Chriſtian toleration often diſſipates their ſtrength, whom rougher oppoſition fortifies; and puts the deſpiſed and oppreſſed Party, into ſuch Combinations, as may moſt enable them to get a full revenge on thoſe they count their Perſecutors, who are commonly aſſiſted by that vulgar commiſeration, which attends all, that are ſaid to ſuffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an inſolent oppoſition of Laws, and Government, or Religion eſtabliſhed, as to the eſſentials of them, ſuch motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwaies keep up ſolid piety, and thoſe fundamentall Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartiall favour and juſtice.

Take heed that outward circumſtances and formalities of Religion devoure not all, or the beſt incouragements of learning induſtry, and piety; but with an equall eye, and impartiall hand, diſtribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their reall goodneſſe both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be ſure to gain You the hearts of

the beſt, and the moſt too; who, though they be not good themſelves, yet are glad to ſee the ſeverer waies of virtue at any time ſweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, you ſee, conflicted with different and oppoſite Factions; (for ſo I muſt needs cal and count all thoſe, that act not in any conformity to the Laws eſtabliſhed, in Church and State) no ſooner have they by force ſubdued what they counted their Common Enemy, (that is, all thoſe that adhered to the Laws, and to Me) and are ſecured from that fear, but they are divided to ſo high a rivalry, as ſets them more at defiance againſt each other, than againſt their firſt Antagoniſts.

Time will diſſipate all Factions, when once the rough horns of private mens covetous & ambitious deſigns, ſhall diſcover themſelves; which were at firſt wrapt up and hidden under the ſoft and ſmooth pretenſions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty: As the Wolf is not leſſe cruell, ſo he will be more juſtly hated, when he ſhall appear no better then a Wolf under Sheeps cloathing.

But as for the ſeduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their ſimplicity follow thoſe diſguiſes; My charge and counſell to you, is, That as you need no palliations for any deſigns (as other men) ſo that you ſtudy really to exceed (in true and conſtant demonſtrations of

goodneſſe, piety, and virtue, towards the People) even all thoſe men, that make the greateſt noiſe and oſtentations of Religion; ſo you ſhall neither fear any detection, (as they do, who have but the face and mask of goodneſſe) nor ſhall you fruſtrate the juſt expectations of your People; who cannot in reaſon, promiſe themſelves ſo much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the virtuous conſtancy of their King.

When theſe mountains of congealed Factions ſhall by the Sunſhine of Gods mercy, and the ſplendour of your virtues be thawed and diſſipated; and the abuſed Vulgar ſhall have learned, that none are greater Oppreſſours of their Eſtates, Liberties, and Conſciences, than thoſe men, that entitle themſelves, The Patrons and Vindicatours of them, onely to uſurp power over them; Let then no paſſion betray you to any ſtudy of revenge upon thoſe, whoſe own ſin and folly will ſufficiently puniſh them in due time.

But as ſoon as the forked arrow of Factious emulations is drawn out, uſe all Princely arts and clemency to heal the wounds; that the ſmart of the cure may not equall the anguiſh of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indempnity, and Oblivion, to ſo great a latitude, as may in-

clude all, that can but ſuſpect themſelves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws; and which might ſerve to exclude all future Jealouſies and inſecurities.

I would have You alwaies propenſe to the ſame way, when ever it ſhall be deſired, and accepted, let it be granted, not onely as an Act of State-policy and neceſſity, but of Chriſtian charity and choice.

It is all I have now left me, a power to forgive thoſe, that have deprived me of all; and I thank God, I have a heart to do it; and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given me, as in all my former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to me, than any proſperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the moſt of all ſides, who have done amiſſe, have done ſo, not out of malice, but miſ-information, or miſ-apprehenſion of things.

None will be more loyall and faithfull to Me and You, than thoſe ſubjects, who ſenſible of their Errours, and our Injuries, will feel in their own Souls moſt vehement motives to repentance, and earneſt deſires to make ſome reparations for their former defects.

As Your quality ſets You beyond any Duel with any Subject; ſo the nobleneſſe of Your mind muſt raiſe You above the meditating

any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the many.

The more conſcious You ſhall be to Your own merits, upon Your People, the more prone you will be to expect all love and loyalty from them; and to inflict no puniſhment upon them for former miſcarriages: you will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, than in puniſhing a thouſand.

This I write to you, not deſpairing of Gods mercy, and my Subjects affections towards you; both which, I hope you will ſtudy to deſerve, yet we cannot merit of God, but by his own mercy.

If God ſhall ſee fit to reſtore me, and you after me, to thoſe injoyments, which the Laws have aſſigned to Us; and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and ſin can deveſt Us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I ſhall be ſo happy to ſee you in peace, to let you more fully underſtand the things that belong to Gods glory, your own honour, and the Kingdoms peace.

But if you never ſee my face again, and God will have me buried in ſuch a barbarous Impriſonment and obſcurity (which the perfecting ſome mens deſigns require) wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with me; I do require and intreat you as your Father, and your KING,

that you never ſuffer your heart to receive the leaſt check againſt, or diſaffection from the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*.

I tell you I have tried it, and after much ſearch, and many diſputes, have concluded it to be the beſt in the world; not onely in the Community, as Chriſtian, but alſo in the ſpeciall notion, as Reformed; keeping the middle way between the pomp of ſuperſtitious Tyranny, and the meanneſſe of fantaſtick Anarchy.

Not but that, the draught being excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government in the Church of *England*, ſome lines, as in very good figures, may happily need ſome ſweetning or poliſhing; which might here have eaſily been done by a ſafe and gentle hand; if ſome mens precipitancy had not violenty demanded ſuch rude alterations, as would have quite deſtroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The ſcandall of the late Troubles, which ſome may object, and urge to you againſt the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, is eaſily anſwered to them, or your own thoughts in this, That ſcarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Proſecutor of this late War againſt the Church, the Laws, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover,

Embracer, or Practiſer of the Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed in *England*: which neither gives ſuch rules, nor ever before ſet ſuch examples.

'Tis true, ſome heretofore had the boldneſſe to preſent threatening Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the ſame Faction (but of worſe Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and diſorderly *Zeal* abate Your value and eſteem of true piety, both of them are to be known by their fruits; the ſweetneſſe of the Wine & Figtree is not to be deſpiſed, though the Brambles and Thorns ſhould pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have You to entertain any averſation, or diſlike of Parliaments; which in their right conſtitution with Freedom and Honour, will never injure or diminiſh Your greatneſſe, but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince, and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other then ſuch (however much biaſſed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preſerved from the inſolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impreſſions: The ſad effects of which will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preſerve that Freedome, and Honour,

which belongs to ſuch Aſſemblies (when once they have fully ſhaken off this yoke of Vulgar encroachment) ſince the publick intereſt conſiſts in the mutuall and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in fair, grave, and Honourable waies to contribute their Counſels in Common, enacting all things by publick conſent; without Tyranny or Tumuls. We muſt not ſtarve our ſelves, becauſe ſome men have ſurfeited of wholſome food.

And if neither I, nor you be ever reſtored to Our Rights but God in his ſevereſt juſtice, will puniſh my Subjects with continuance in their ſin, and ſuffer them to be deluded with the proſperity of their wickedneſſe; I hope God will give me and you, that grace, which will teach and inable Us, to want, as well as to wear a Crown, which is not worth taking up, or injoying upon ſordid, diſhonourable, and irreligious tearms.

Keep you to true principles of piety, virtue, and honour, you ſhall never want a Kingdome.

A principall point of your honour will conſiſt in your deferring all reſpect, love, and protection to your Mother, my Wife; who hath many waies deſerved well of me, and chiefly in this, that (having been a means to

bleſſe me with ſo many hopefull Children; (all which, with their Mother, I recommend to your love, and care) She hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to ſuffer both for, and with me, and you.

My praier to God Almightie is, (whatever becomes of me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in my own innocency, and his Grace) that he would be pleaſed to make you an Anchour, or Harbour rather, to theſe toſſed and weather-beaten Kingdomes; a Repairer by your wiſdome, juſtice, piety, and valour, of what, the folly and wickedneſſe of ſome men have ſo farre ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons: either as to Lawes, Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Honour, Conſcience, or lives.

When they have deſtroied me (for *I* know not how farre God may permit the malice and cruelty of my enemies to proceed, and ſuch apprehenſions ſome mens words and actions have already given me) as I doubt not but my bloud will cry aloud for vengeance to heaven; ſo I beſeech God not to poure out his wrath upon the generalitie of the People, who have either deſerted me, or engaged againſt me, through the artifice and hypocriſie of their Leaders, whoſe inward horrour will be their

firſt Tormenter, nor will they eſcape exemplary judgements,

For thoſe that loved Me, *I* pray God, they may have no miſſe of me, when I am gone; ſo much I wiſh and hope; that all good Subjects may be ſatisfied with the bleſſings of your preſence and virtues.

For thoſe that repent of any defects in their duty toward Me, as *I* freely forgive them in the word of a Chriſtian KING, ſo *I* believe you will find them truely Zealous, to repay with intereſt that loyaltie and love to you, which was due to Me.

In ſumme, what good I intended, do you perform; when God ſhall give you power; much good I have offered, more I purpoſed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will ſoon vaniſh, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for ſo it now plainly appears, ſince my reſtraint and cruell uſage, that they ſought not for Me, as was pretended) will not long ſerve to hide ſome mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend you, wherein your Subjects (by their miſeries) will have learned, That Religion to their God, and Loyally to their King, cannot be parted without both their ſin and their infelicitie.

I pray God bleſſe You, and eſtabliſh Your Kingdomes in righteouſneſſe, Your Soul in true Religion, and Your honour in the love of God and your people.

And if God will have diſloyalty perfected by my deſtruction; let My memory ever, with my name, live in you; as of your Father that loves you: and once a KING of three flouriſhing Kingdomes; whom God thought fit to honour, not onely with the Scepter and Government of them, but alſo with the ſuffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I ſtudied to preſerve the rights of the Church, the power of the Lawes, the honour of My Crown, the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of My People, and My own Conſcience, which, I thank God, is dearer to Me than a thouſand Kingdomes.

I know God can, I hope he yet will reſtore Me to my Rights. I cannot deſpair either of his mercy, or of My Peoples love and pitie.

At worſt, I truſt I ſhall but go before you to a better Kingdome, which God hath prepared for Me, and Me for it, through My Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to whoſe mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewell, till We meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven,

Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addreſſes, and His MAJESTIES *cloſer Impriſonment in* Carisbrooke-Caſtle.

AS I have leiſure enough, ſo I have cauſe more than enough, to meditate upon; and prepare for my Death: for I know, there are but few ſteps between the Priſons and Graves of Princes.

It is GODS indulgence, which giveth Me the ſpace, but Mans crueltie, that giveth Me the ſad Occaſions for theſe thoughts.

For, beſides the common burthen of mortality, which lies upon me, as a Man; I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealouſies, and cruell paſſions, whoſe envie or enmitie againſt me makes their own lifes ſeem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of mine.

I thank God, my proſperitie made me not wholly a ſtranger to the contemplations of mortality:

Thoſe are never unſeaſonable, ſince this is alwaies uncertain: Death being an Eclipſe, which

which oft happeneth as well in clear, as cloudie daies.

But my now long and ſharp adverſitie hath ſo reconciled in me thoſe naturall Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that *I* thank God, the common terrours of it are diſpelled; and the ſpeciall horrour of it, as to my particular, much allayed; for, although my death at preſent may juſtly be repreſented to me with all thoſe terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruell and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I bleſſe God, I can look upon all thoſe ſtings, as unpoyſonous, though ſharp: ſince my Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given me the antidote of his death againſt them; which as to the immaturitie, unjuſtice, ſhame, ſcorn, and crueltie of it exceeded, whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did find ſo much, the life of Religion, the feaſt of a good Conſcience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and conſtancy, as ſince I came to theſe cloſer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not ſo old, as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) ſo bad, as to be either afraid to die, or aſhamed to live: true, *I* am ſo afflicted, as might make me ſometime even deſire to die, if I did not conſider, That it is the greateſt glory

glory of a Christians life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partial and quotidian deaths which kill us (as it were) by piecemeals, and make us overlive our own fates, while We are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power credit, safety, or estate; and those other comforts of deareſt relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though as a KING, *I* think my self to live in nothing temporall so much as in the love and good-will of my People; for which, as *I* have suffered many deaths, so *I* hope *I* am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding, My Enemies have used all the poyson of falsity and violence of hostilitie, to destroy, first the Love and Loyaltie, which is in my Subjects; and then all that content of life in me, which from these *I* chiefly enjoyed.

*I*ndeed, they have left me but little of life, and onely the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and crueltie can take from me; having bereaved me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But, O my Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in

a good Cauſe, as are the greateſt honour of our lives, and the beſt improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Chriſtian valour, it argues puſillanimity to deſire to die out of wearineſſe of life; and a want of that heroick greatneſſe of ſpirit which becomes a Chriſtian in the patient and generous ſuſtaining thoſe afflictions, which as ſhadows neceſſarily attend us, while we are in this body, and which are leſſened or enlarged as the Sunne of our proſperity moves higher or lower: whoſe totall abſence is beſt recompenſed with the Dew of Heaven.

The aſſaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampſon's* Lyon, but they yeild much ſweetneſſe to thoſe, that dare to encounter and overcome them, who know how to overlive the vvitherings of their Gourds vvithout diſcontent or peeviſhneſſe, vvhile they may yet converſe vvith God.

That *I* muſt die as a Man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of my ovvn Subjects, a violent, ſudden, and barbarous death. In the ſtrength of my yeares, in the midſt of my Kingdoms; My Friends and loving Subjects being helpleſſe Spectatours, My Enemies inſolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me, living, dying, and dead, is ſo probable in humane reaſon, that God hath taught me not to hope

other-

otherwiſe, as to mans crueltie; however, I deſpair not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know my Life is the object of the Devil's and wicked mens malice, but yet under Gods ſole cuſtody and diſpoſall: whom I do not not think to flatter for longer life by ſeeming prepared to die: but I humbly deſire to depend upon him, and to ſubmit to his will both in life and death, in what order ſoever he is pleaſed to lay them out to me. I confeſſe it is not eaſie for me to contend with thoſe many horrours of death, wherewith God ſuffers me to be tempted, which are equally horrid, either in the ſuddennes of a barbarous Aſſaſination, or in thoſe greater formalities, whereby my Enemies (being more ſolemnly cruell) will, it may be, ſeek to adde (as thoſe did, who Crucified Chriſt) the mockery of Juſtice, to the cruelty of malice: That I may be deſtroied, as with greater pomp and artifice, ſo with leſſe pity, it will be but a neceſſary policy to make my death appear as an act of Juſtice, done by Subjects upon their Soveraigne, who know that no Law of God or Man inveſts them with any power of Judicature without me, much leſſe againſt me: and who, being ſworn and bound by all that is ſacred before God and man, to endeavour my preſervation, muſt pretend Juſtice to cover their Perjury.

It is, indeed, a ſad fate for any man to have his

his Enemies to be Accuſers, Parties, and Judges; but moſt deſperate, when this is acted by the inſolence of Subjects againſt their Soveraign; wherein thoſe, who have had the chiefeſt hand, and are moſt guilty of contriving the publick Troubles, muſt by ſheddingMy bloud ſeem to waſh their own hands of that innocent bloud, whereof they are now moſt evidently guilty before God and man; and I believe in their own conſciences too, while they carried on unreaſonable demands, firſt by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes mean ſpirits more cowardly-cruell in managing their uſurped power againſt their lawfull Superiours, than this, the *Guilt of their unjuſt uſurpation*; notwithſtanding, thoſe ſpecious and popular pretenſions of Juſtice againſt Delinquents, applied onely to diſguiſe at firſt the monſtrouſneſſe of their deſigns, who diſpaired, indeed, of poſſeſſing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heir, whoſe right it is, be caſt out and ſlain.

With them, My greateſt fault muſt be, that I would not either deſtroy My ſelf with the Church and State by My Word, or not ſuffer them to do it unreſiſted by the Sword; whoſe covetous ambition no Conceſſions of Mine could ever yet, either ſatisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likelie they will ever think, that Kingdome of brambles, which ſome men ſeek

to erect (at once, weak, ſharp, and fruitleſſe, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royall bloud of thoſe, whoſe right the Kingdome is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but My Innocency will find him both My Protectour, and My Advocate, who is My onely Judge, whom I own as King of Kings, not onely for the eminency of his power and Majeſty above them; but alſo for that ſingular care and protection, which he hath over them: who knows them to be expoſed to as many dangers (being the greateſt Patrones of Law, Juſtice, Order, and Religion on earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confuſion.

Nor will he ſuffer thoſe men long to proſper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones and cement it with the bloud of their Kings.

I am confident they will find Avengers of My death among themſelves; the injuries I have ſuſtained from them ſhall be firſt puniſhed by them, who agreed in nothing ſo much as in oppoſing Me.

Their impatience to bear the loud cry of My bloud, ſhall make them think no way better to expiate it, than by ſhedding theirs, who with them, moſt thirſted after Mine.

The ſad confuſions following My deſtruction, are already preſaged and confirmed to

Me by thoſe that I have lived to ſee ſince My troubles; in which, God alone (who onely could) hath many waies pleaded My cauſe; not ſuffering them to go unpuniſhed, whoſe confederacy in ſinne was their onely ſecurity; who have cauſe to fear that God will both further divide, and by mutuall vengeance, afterward deſtroy them.

My greateſt conqueſt of Death is from the power and love of Chriſt, who hath ſwallowed up death in the victory of his Reſurrection, and the glory of his Aſcenſion.

My next comfort is, that he gives Me not onely the honour to imitate his example in ſuffering for righteouſneſſe ſake, (though obſcured by the fouleſt charges of Tyranny and Injuſtice) but alſo, that charity, which is the nobleſt revenge upon, and victory over My Deſtroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute My bloud to them further then to convince them, what need they have of Chriſts bloud to waſh their ſouls from the guilt of ſhedding Mine.

At preſent, the will of my Enemies ſeems to be their onely rule, their power the meaſure, and their ſucceſſe the Exactour, of what they pleaſe to call Juſtice; while they flatter themſelves with the fancy of their own ſafety by My danger, and the ſecurity of their lives de-

ſigns by My Death: forgetting, that as the greateſt temptations to ſinne are wrapped up in ſeeming proſperities, ſo the ſevereſt vengeances of God are then moſt accompliſhed, when men are ſuffered to compleat their wicked purpoſes.

I bleſſe God, I pray not ſo much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may paſſe from Me, as that of his wrath may paſſe from all thoſe, whoſe hands by deſerting Me, are ſprinkled, or by acting and conſenting to My death are embrued with My bloud.

The will of God hath confined, & concluded Mine; I ſhall have the pleaſure of dying, without any pleaſure of deſired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Chriſtian toward Enemies, and a King towatd his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Me of more than I am content to loſe, when God ſees fit by their hands to take it from me; whoſe mercy I believe, will more then infinitly recompence what ever by mans injuſtice he is pleaſed to deprive me of.

The glory attending my death will farre ſurpaſſe all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I ſhall not want the heavy and envied Crowns of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and conſummated his graces with glorie; and exchanged the ſhadows of my earthlie Kingdomes among men,

for the ſubſtance of that heavenlie kingdome with himſelf.

For the cenſures of the world; I know the ſharp and neceſſary tyrannie of my Deſtroyers will ſufficientlie confute the calumnies of tyrannie againſt me; I am perſwaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ableſt and beſt of my ſubjects, who do not onely pitie and pray for me, but would be content even to die with me, or for me.

Theſe know how to excuſe my failings, as a man, and yet to retain and pay their duty to me as their King; there being no religious neceſſity binding any Subjects by pretending to puniſh, infinitly to exceed, the faults and errours of their Princes; eſpecially there, where more and ſufficient ſatisfaction hath been made to the publick; the injoyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto fruſtrated.

Others, I believe, of ſofter tempers, and leſſe advantaged by my ruine, do already feel ſharp convictions, and ſome remorſe in their conſciences; where they cannot but ſee the proportions of their evil dealings againſt me in the meaſure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nails been ſo cruell as to cut off their chiefeſt ſtrength.

The puniſhment of the more inſolent and obſti-

obſtinate may be like that of *Korah* & his Complices (at once mutining againſt both *Prince* & Prieſt) in ſuch a meehod of divine juſtice, as is not ordinary; the earth of the loweſt and meaneſt people opening upon them, and ſwallowing them up in a juſt diſdain of their ill-gotten and worſe-uſed Authority: upon whoſe ſupport and ſtrength they chiefly depended for their building and eſtabliſhing their deſigns againſt Me, the Church, and State.

My chiefeſt comfort in death conſiſts in my peace, which I truſt, is made with God: before whoſe exact Tribunall I ſhall not fear to appear, as to the Cauſe ſo long diſputed by the Sword, between me and my cauſleſſe Enemies: where I doubt not, but his righteous judgment will confute their fallacy, who from worldly ſucceſſe (rather like Sophiſters, than ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular concluſions for Gods approbation of their actions; whoſe wiſe providence (we know) oft permits many events, which his revealed Word (the onely clear, ſafe and fixed rule of good actions and good conſciences) in no ſort approves.

I am confident the Juſtice of my Cauſe, and clearneſſe of my Conſcience before God & toward my people will carry me, as much above them in Gods deciſion, as their ſucceſſes have lifted them above me in the Vulgar opinion:

who consider not, that many times those undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the prosperity and applause of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousnesse and oppression of the design. The prosperous winds which oft fill the sails of Pirats, doth not justifie their piracy and rapine.

I look upon it with infinit more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worsted in my enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the freedome and honour of Parliaments, the rights of my Crown, the just liberty of my Subjects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greatest advantages of successe, overborn them all; as some men have now evidently done, whatever designs they at first pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Friends & loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter cup, which *I* doubt not but I shall more chearfully take, & drink as from Gods hand (if it must be so) than they can give it to me, whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against me.

And, as to the last event, *I* may seem to ow more to my Enemies, than my Friends; while those will put a period to the sinnes and sorrows attending this miserable life; where-

with

with theſe deſire, I might ſtill contend.

I ſhall be more than Conquerour through Chriſt enabling me; for whom I have hitherto ſuffered: as he is the Authour of Truth, Order, and Peace: for all which, I have been forced to contend againſt Errour, Faction, and confuſion.

If I muſt ſuffer a violent death, with my Saviour, it is but mortality crowned with martyrdome: where the debt of death, which I ow for ſinne to nature, ſhall be raiſed, as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beſeech him mercifully to accept; and although death be the wages of my own ſinne, as from God, and the effect of other ſinnes, as men, both againſt God and me; yet as I hope my own ſinnes are ſo remitted, that they ſhall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death, ſo I deſire God to pardon their ſins, who are moſt guilty of my deſtruction.

The Trophees of my charity will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill-managed victories over me.

Though their ſin be proſperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: Both which, I pray God they may obtain: that my temporall death unjuſtly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods juſt inflicting eternall death upon them: for I look

O ſhew me the goodneſſe of thy will, through the wickedneſſe of theirs.

Thou giveſt me leave as a man to pray, that this cup may paſſe from me; but thou haſt taught Me as a Chriſtian by the example of Chriſt to adde, not My will, but thine be done.

Yea Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly reſolving mine into thine; let not the deſire of life in me be ſo great, as that of doing or ſuffering thy will in either life or death.

As I believe thou haſt forgiven all the errours of my life, ſo I hope thou wilt ſave me from the terrours of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who haſt made Chriſt unto me in life, gain; and in death, advantage.

Though my Deſtroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my bloud, or in their gaining my Kingdoms, if they loſe their own Souls?

Such as have not onely reſiſted my juſt Power, but wholly uſurped and turned it againſt my ſelf, though they may deſerve, yet let them not receive to themſelves damnation.

Thou madeſt thy Sonne a Saviour to many;

that Crucified Him, while at once he suffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his bloud be heard for My murtherers, louder than the cry of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions of their sin, and let them not at once deceive and damn their own Souls by fallacious pretensions of Justice in destroying me, while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against me, chiefly tempts them to use all extremities against me.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to me as very false, so very cruell; who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deal not with them as bloud-thirsty and deceitfull men; but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion and my charity.

And when thou makest inquisition for My bloud, O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent Souls with the bloud of thy Son, that thy destroying Angel may passe over them.

Though they think my Kingdomes on earth too little to entertain at once both them and me, yet let the capacious Kingdome of thy infinite mercy at last receive both me and my enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the bloud

of the ſame Redeemer, we ſhall live far above theſe ambitious deſires, which beget ſuch mortall enmities.

When their hands ſhall be heavieſt, and cruelleſt upon me, O let me fall into the arms of thy tender and eternall mercies.

That what is cut off of my life in this miſerable moment, may be repaied in thy ever-bleſſed eternity.

Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

FINIS.